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THE JERUSALEM POST

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Siniora to stand for Jerusalem elections

By JOEL GREENBERG and MENACHEM SHALEV Hanna Siniora, editor of the East Jerusalem *Al Fajr* newspaper, announced yesterday that he intends to head a Palestinian list to run in the November 1988 municipal elections in Jerusalem.

The unprecedented statement by a Palestinian leader was immediately welcomed by Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek. "The announcement of such an intention is positive, because it provides for Arab participation in running the united city and sharing responsibility," said Kollek's spokesman, Rafi Davara. "The city has a large Arab population, and for years we have been interested in having them as partners."

Siniora's statement, made during a meeting with foreign journalists, was also greeted favourably by moderates in both Labour and the Likud,



Hanna Siniora (Fishman)

years ago to participate in a proposed Jordanian/Palestinian delegation to peace talks. He is a backer of the mainstream Fatah faction of the PLO led by Yasser Arafat.

Siniora said there was "ample time" before the elections for serious discussion of the idea, so that the move could be taken as "a studied step."

The idea was first broached in Palestinian circles a few months ago by Bir Zeit University professor Sari Nusseibeh, who proposed it as a means of confronting Israelis with the implications of their continued rule over the territories. It was discussed in meetings of prominent PLO Palestinians, and was opposed by Faisal Husseini, the head of the Arab Studies Society in East Jerusalem, who is currently in administrative detention.

Nusseibeh said yesterday that Siniora's proposal should be carefully considered. But the move was

opposed by the head of the Arab Journalists' Association, Radwan Abu Ayyash.

Siniora rejected charges that his action meant Palestinian acceptance of Israeli annexation of Jerusalem. "This does not mean we relinquish sovereignty over East Jerusalem. I believe Jerusalem should be an undivided city with dual sovereignty, the capital of both a Palestinian state and of Israel."

He added that a Palestinian list representing one-third of Jerusalem's population could win seven seats on the municipal council and provide crucial swing votes, wielding power similar to that of religious factions in the Knesset.

Davara said that though Arab membership in the council could cause problems and disagreements, these could be overcome. He pointed out that the council was not a forum for political decisions and

Major change

By YEHUDA LITANI

Hanna Siniora's statement yesterday was a revolutionary one. For the past 20 years Palestinians in the territories and East Jerusalem have called for either an armed struggle against Israel or a peace process involving the superpowers, the Arab states and the PLO. For the first time since June 1967 a resident of East Jerusalem, a Palestinian leader belonging to the PLO, is calling on his people to participate in the political process within the Israeli establishment.

On the one hand, Siniora's call signals the willingness of East Jerusalem to give up the armed struggle for the time being, and on the other it serves as a warning to the Israelis: you have already annexed us and now we will start using our electoral power to use your democratic system against you.

Iran warns U.S. not to intervene in the Gulf

ROME (Reuters). - Iran warned the U.S. yesterday against intervening in the Gulf, saying that U.S. ships could be lost if this advice were ignored.

But President Reagan arrived in Venice yesterday for the seven-nation summit where he will press for greater coordination, cooperation and support in the Persian Gulf.

The president and his wife were greeted at Venice's Marco Polo Airport by Italian Prime Minister Amintore Fanfani.

White House National Security Adviser Frank Carlucci told reporters on the flight from Washington on Wednesday that the administration had completed a review of what suggestions it should make to the annual meeting of allied economic powers "and is now prepared to approach them."

Participating in the meeting will be the leaders of Britain, France, West Germany, Italy, Canada and Japan.

"If America wants to intervene militarily in the Gulf, then we say that the Persian Gulf is deep enough to swallow up the American ships," said a spokesman for visiting Iranian Deputy Foreign Minister Javad Larjani.

The spokesman, Mohammed Hasan Ghadiri, refused at a news conference to elaborate on the warning, but denied that Iran was threatening to sink U.S. ships.

Freedom of navigation in the Gulf is expected to be high on the agenda at the summit, following the Iraqi missile attack which killed 37 seamen on the U.S. frigate Stark last month.

Italian Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti has already clearly indicated Italy's opposition to any U.S. call on its allies to help preserve freedom of navigation in the Gulf. Andreotti, foreign minister in a caretaker government taking Italy to elections on June 14-15, on Wednesday met Larjani. After their talks, Andreotti told journalists: "It seems absurd to me, and I note it with sorrow, that risks for navigation and oil supplies are being talked about more than people who are dying."

Major Robert Elliot of London's International Institute for Strategic

Schwimmer said called before U.S. grand jury

By WOLF BLITZER in Washington and BENNY MORRIS in Jerusalem

Al Schwimmer, the founding director of Israel Aircraft Industries and a key intermediary in the U.S. arms initiative towards Iran, was reported yesterday to have become the second Israeli subpoenaed to appear before a federal grand jury in Washington looking into the affair.

Israeli officials in Washington said that Schwimmer was served the subpoena in Israel in recent days. It was unclear whether Schwimmer would come to Washington to cooperate with the request.

U.S. and Israeli officials said Schwimmer was a dual American-Israeli citizen. They said that would put him in a somewhat different legal category from the other Israelis involved in the affair.

The special U.S. prosecutor investigating the Iran-Contra arms affair has no intention of letting up his drive to force Schwimmer and three other Israelis to appear before the grand jury, American and Israeli officials said yesterday.

Late last month, Lawrence Walsh, whose official title is independent counsel, subpoenaed former Foreign Ministry director-general David Kimche who was a key liaison to the White House during the early stages of the Iran affair in the summer of 1985. Kimche was then in New York on private business.

Israel has formally protested to the State Department against Walsh's issuing of the Kimche subpoena. Senior officials in Jerusalem said that "we have a good case" and are hopeful that the federal court, which is to review the Kimche affair on June 11, will rescind the subpoena.

Well-placed sources in Jerusalem confirmed last night that subpoenas have already been issued against Amiram Nir, the prime minister's adviser on terrorism, and Ya'acov Nimrodi, an arms dealer. The two, along with Schwimmer, were instrumental in organizing the arms deals between Israel, the U.S. and Iran which have shaken the Reagan administration.

Walsh continues to insist that Israel enable the four Israelis involved to give information and evidence on their roles in the deals to the American judicial authorities. Israel's stand remains that the four were agents of the Israeli government, not private citizens, and that the American investigators should get information about Israel's role only from the Israeli government.

"The Israeli government continues to view Walsh's actions as very grave and contrary to the rules of international relations," one senior official said in Jerusalem. "You can't conduct them with subpoenas. How would the U.S. like it if a foreign government subpoenaed one of its ex-officials and forced him to testify on foreign soil about secret American dealings?"

The official said that the two American congressional committees investigating the arms sales and Israel "are agreed about the state-to-state approach." But Israel so far has not transferred material on its role in the affair to the committees pending resolution of "technical questions" about access to and the safety of the material, much of which is highly classified.



Fire destroys a plastic dog and a wooden man as part of a 'To Hell with Zik' performance at the Jerusalem Cinematheque last night. The Zik artists who built the plastic and wooden objects for the Israel Festival believe in destroying their creations. Story on page 2. (P. Tikinter/Media)

'Israel recruited Iran go-between in arms deal'

By WOLF BLITZER WASHINGTON. - The main Iranian intermediary involved in the ill-fated U.S. arms initiative toward Iran was yesterday described as a former Iranian intelligence official under the shah who was later "recruited" by Israel.

In sworn testimony before the joint House-Senate panel investigating the Iran-Contra affair, Albert Hakim, the Iranian-born American businessman who was involved in the financial arrangements of the weapons transfers to Iran, said that Manucher Ghorbanifar was "a former Savak agent recruited by Israel."

Hakim's statement - if shown to be true - could potentially represent a major embarrassment for Israel. In the early stages of the affair, Israeli officials repeatedly vouched for the reliability and credibility of Ghorbanifar as someone with good contacts to the revolutionary leadership in Teheran. Ghorbanifar was not presented as someone with ties to Israeli intelligence.

Over the past several months, there have been some suspicions expressed privately by some U.S. investigators that Israel may have "set up" the U.S. to get involved in the entire arms initiative toward Iran in order to advance Israeli interests. This accusation would clearly be strengthened if Ghorbanifar was indeed working for Israel during this period.

Unrest before 20th anniversary

Israeli boy, 14, stabbed in Hebron

By JOEL GREENBERG

A 14-year-old Israeli boy was stabbed and lightly wounded in Hebron yesterday, as unrest mounted in the territories in advance of today's 20th anniversary of the outbreak of the Six Day War.

Tuvia Peretz was attacked by an Arab youth at about 12:30 p.m. as he left a grocery store on Shalala Street on his way to his home at Beit Hadassah, the centre of Jewish settler activity in Hebron. As the Arab tried to stab him, Peretz ducked and suffered only superficial scratches on his abdomen.

The attacker dropped his knife and fled, and Peretz took the weapon with him to Beit Hadassah, where he reported the incident. Armed settlers rushed to the scene

with the boy's father, overturned fruit and vegetable stands and, according to one eye-witness account, smashed a window in an Arab building. The father, who shouted repeatedly, fainted and was revived by a first-aid team.

The IDF clamped a curfew on the area, began searches and rounded up suspects for questioning.

OC Central Command Amram Mitzna arrived in Hebron and met with settler leaders to defuse tensions.

The knifing was the fifth in Hebron in the past year.

Settlers also vandalized shops in Hebron's casbah and assaulted Arabs, according to an Israel Television report. The report said that the

Sri Lanka angered at Indian air incursion

NEW DELHI (Reuters). - India, South Asia's superpower, enforced its will on its southern neighbour yesterday by sending air force planes to drop supplies over Sri Lanka's rebel-dominated Jaffna peninsula.

Smarting from its humiliation on Wednesday at the hands of Colombo's puny navy, it made sure of success this time by escorting the transport aircraft with armed fighters to which Sri Lanka had no answer.

"We don't have that kind of aircraft," admitted an official in Colombo, confirming Indian reports that his country had put up no air or ground resistance to the incursion.

The air drop of 25 tons of supplies to the Tamils of Jaffna, with whom millions of Indians have ethnic links, came less than a day after a seaborne flotilla was turned back on a similar mission.

After the food drop, Colombo released the text of a peremptory message sent by the Indians before it began. This requested Colombo "to ensure that no ground fire is directed at this formation... as under such circumstance... the fighter escort will be compelled to return fire."

After the uninvited airdrop, which Sri Lanka denounced as "an unwarranted assault on our integrity and sovereignty," Indian officials asked its neighbour not to interpret the intrusion into its airspace as an unfriendly act.

School classes to resume today

By LEA LEVAVI Jerusalem Post Reporter TEL AVIV. - Classes will resume today after the Shavut break, but the dispute between the teachers and the government over education-budget cuts and teachers' dismissals is still unsettled.

The teachers are awaiting another meeting with Education Minister Yitzhak Navon, who was released from hospital only late last night. They say that though the proposed cuts have been reduced to 50,000 hours, an hour and a half will be cut

from technological education per week and an hour per week in other classes, particularly in junior high and high school.

The teachers' unions want to prevent dismissal of tenured teachers and minimize the number of non-tenured teachers who lose their jobs, but they also want to prevent cuts in the number of hours teachers work per week.

The teachers hope an agreement will be reached this weekend. If not, further disruptions of classes can be expected next week.



An Italian security guard takes up his position outside the main conference hall in Venice yesterday. The seven-nation economic summit begins on Monday. (Reuters telephoto)

Peres seeks 'no imposed solution' at parley

By MENACHEM SHALEV Post Political Reporter

Foreign Minister Peres has urged the U.S., Britain and France to conclude a memorandum of understanding guaranteeing that an international peace conference on the Middle East would be powerless to impose solutions or decisions on the negotiating sides.

Speaking at a convention of veteran Labour Party members in Tel Aviv yesterday, Peres said he had proposed to the three permanent members of the UN Security Council which maintain diplomatic relations with Israel that they find an agreed formula on the character of the conference, and make it clear to the Soviets and the Chinese that they

must establish diplomatic ties with Israel if they want to participate in the conference.

Peres said that bilateral talks with Jordan at the international conference would focus at first on joint economic projects, such as the digging of a canal to connect the Dead Sea with the Red Sea. "We don't have to start at the territorial end," he said.

He dismissed the Likud's assertion that all the participants in an international conference would be prejudiced against Israel. "Is Margaret Thatcher, who invited Yosef Begin to breakfast in Moscow, against us?" he asked. "Is George Shultz, who had a Pessah Seder with refuseniks in the Soviet Union, against us?"

In a forceful speech lasting more than an hour, Peres lashed out sharply at the Likud, saying that it had adopted a strategy of attacking and besmirching him. Peres said that the "lawyers in the Likud," aided by public relations firms, were planting false stories in the foreign press about him - he was referring specifically to recent reports in *Newsweek* and the *Atlanta Constitution*.

Peres said that he was "amazed at these distortions."

We are already in the middle of an election campaign, Peres said, castigating the Likud, which has suddenly become "so pro-Druse and pro-Beduin," and is bowing to ultra-Orthodox pressures to import wheat, which costs the state a fortune, and is trading and purchasing

votes, for instance by pledging to secure a safe Knesset seat for Minister Yigael Hurvitz.

Peres also criticized the Liberal Party, saying that it was "more extreme, more anti-Zionist, more opposed to an international conference and more supportive of settlements in the West Bank" than its Herut partners.

On the eve of a so-called "reconciliation" meeting with MK Abba Eban, Peres blasted Eban's assertion that Labour was "not liberal." Peres said that criticism cannot be one-sided, "especially since Eban compromised with [Likud] MK Ehud Olmert on a not so important matter - Shimon Peres and Yitzhak Rabin."

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- ★ Today Page — Sundays and Tuesdays

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COPIENHAGEN	8 18 14	8	14	Cloudy
FRANKFURT	11 22 18	11	22	Clear
GENEVA	8 18 14	8	14	Cloudy
HELSINKI	8 18 14	8	14	Cloudy
HONG KONG	22 31 24	22	31	Clear
JOHANNESBURG	9 48 21	9	48	Clear
LISBON	15 28 22	15	28	Clear
LONDON	12 24 20	12	24	Cloudy
MADRID	12 24 20	12	24	Clear
MONTREAL	20 28 20	20	28	Rain
NEW YORK	24 78 28	24	78	Rain
OSLO	8 18 14	8	14	Rain
PARIS	11 22 18	11	22	Cloudy
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THE WEATHER

Forecast: Clear to cloudy, with a slight rise in temperatures.
Outlook for Shabbat: Fair.

	Yesterday	Yesterday's	Today's
	Humidity	Min-Max	Max
Jerusalem	46	13-20	24
Golan	40	13-24	26
Nahariya	67	20-24	27
Safed	50	10-21	23
Haifa-Port	70	19-25	27
Tiberias	36	17-29	31
Nazareth	55	18-23	25
Afula	53	15-26	28
Samaria	50	14-23	26
Tel Aviv	59	18-25	27
B-G Airport	61	16-25	28
Jericho	38	18-31	33
Gaza	66	20-23	26
Beersheba	44	15-25	28
Eilat	22	20-31	35

DEPARTURES

Mme. Alain Pierrat, wife of the French ambassador, for Paris, to greet her fourth grandchild Amelie, third daughter born to Anne and Renaud d'Hautefeuille on June 4.

Another bombing in Kfar Sava

Kfar Sava (Itim). - A small bomb exploded yesterday afternoon near the bus stop outside the Brenner school here. No one was injured and no damage was done.

Police sappers closed the road and a number of Arab residents were detained for questioning.

Mayor Yitzhak Vald called on the police and the security service to do their utmost to prevent such bombing attempts.

Jerusalem firebomb

Jerusalem Post Staff
Two petrol bombs were hurled at a No. 23 bus in East Jerusalem's Suiah-a-Din street at 10 o'clock last night, causing no injuries but damage to a window.

A petrol bomb thrown at a No. 23 bus near Mt. Scopus on Monday night slightly injured the bus driver.

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HOME AND FOREIGN NEWS

As opposition
to project grows

Levy lauds Lavi

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT
Post Defence Reporter

TEL AVIV. - Deputy Prime Minister David Levy yesterday firmly placed himself in the Lavi supporters' camp, when he declared the controversial aircraft "excellent" and called on the government to solve the defence establishment's financial problems without grounding the plane.

His comments, made during a visit to Israel Aircraft Industries (IAI), the Lavi's main producer, followed indications that a growing number of cabinet ministers oppose the Lavi programme, and came after Police Minister Haim Bar-Lev called it "a great mistake."

Levy said no one had called the plane inferior to the U.S.-built F-16C which the IDF wants instead.

The state must not cancel the project and force IAI to dismiss thousands of dedicated workers, he said.

The IDF strongly opposes the project because it believes the F-16C is as good as the Lavi and will cost about half as much. The funds freed by purchasing F-16Cs could be diverted to the defence establishment's other vital needs.

Levy yesterday maintained that the government must try to solve the defence establishment's financial problems; but he did not say how, despite repeated questions from reporters.

The minister went on to criticize the controversy between the IDF and the IAI over the plane. "This war is no good," he said.

Levy's visit to the IAI plant followed that of Finance Minister Moshe Nissim and Vice Premier Peres. A Likud member of IAI's executive has been trying to get Prime Minister Shamir to make a similar visit.

IAF fires at Unifil strays

Two Norwegian Unifil soldiers who got lost in the security zone in South Lebanon on Wednesday night were shot at and briefly detained by the IDF, Israel Radio reported yesterday.

The Norwegians, who were apparently unfamiliar with the area, were not hurt. An IDF patrol shot at them when their jeep did not stop after light flares were fired in their direction. The Unifil men were released after two hours. Their jeep was slightly damaged.

Zvili demands Lifka suspension

Jewish Agency settlement department head Nissim Zvili yesterday demanded the immediate suspension of Israel Lands Administration head Moshe Lifka until the latter is cleared of suspicions of unethical behaviour.

Lifka is under investigation for irregularities in his administration, and violation of trust.

IN PERSON

BENNY MORRIS

Gideon Rafael on the Six Day War

Gideon Rafael has had 20 years to think about the Six Day War: He holds it up to the light continuously, like a jewel, each time probably seeing a new aspect, an additional reflection or refraction of light. He has had time to polish his own reflections: "We won territory more than three times the size of [pre-1967] Israel but we lost [our diplomatic relations with] about half the world. Eastwards and southwards the world became a diplomatic desert. And relations, including economic ties, are also an element of a nation's strength and security."

On May 3, 1967, Rafael took up his appointment as Israel's permanent representative to the UN. He arrived in New York from Moscow, where he had been sent by the government to persuade the Soviets to "lower the temperature" in the Middle East. "They didn't. They did the opposite, telling a visiting Egyptian delegation headed by Anwar Sadat about Israel's aggressive designs on Syria," he recalls.

During his visit to Russia, incidentally, Rafael met Sadat on the visiting VIP's dais viewing the May 1 march-past. "My time perhaps would have been better spent had I discussed peace with him."

A telephone call from Jerusalem at 3 a.m. (New York time) on June 5 notified Rafael that war had broken out. At 5:30, when he got to his office, a cable awaited him - "for your eyes only," the most secret classification - informing him that the Israel Air Force had destroyed the Egyptian Air Force. "I was forbidden to tell anybody, even my staff. But I knew then that things were under control. The Arab announcements of Arab victories helped us win time for the IDF's offensives."

"When the American permanent representative, Arthur Goldberg, asked me how the U.S. could help Israel, what it should do, I replied: 'We want only time.' Rafael says that while the IDF was 'dealing with space, I saw myself as dealing with time.'"

Rafael continues to regard the Six Day War as "a just war. Absolutely, *higui mayim ad nafesh* (we'd had enough). I have never since then cast doubt on [the justice of] the war. I interceded with [then UN secretary-general] U Thant five times after May 15 not to bow to Egypt's demand to pull the UN troops out of Sinai and the Gaza Strip."

But the UN troops pulled out, Egyptian troops poured in and the IDF attacked. "In the West Bank, it was not so much an IDF attack as a Jordanian withdrawal. That withdrawal created the Palestinian problem, which until 1967 had been a humanitarian, refugee problem, at least as regards the international diplomatic agenda."

The word "refugee" sparks a diversion. Rafael, diplomatically, speaks of the flow of refugees out of the West Bank in June 1967, "more than 100,000 of them."

"In the enthusiasm of our forward movement, our people assumed, and this led the Arabs to assume, that it would be better if the Arabs [of the conquered areas] left [across the Jordan River]. The U.S. - in a letter from then U.S. secretary of state Dean Rusk to then foreign minister Abba Eban - then fiercely intervened and in unmistakable language, without diplomatic niceties, told Israel that it would not countenance [another] refugee exodus a la 1948. At the time, the clips of Arabs leaving the area on lorries were a regular feature of American TV news broadcasts."

Rafael says that in June 1967 he was "haunted by the experience of 1956, in which Israel was squeezed by a Soviet-American pincer. I had to prevent the recurrence of such a squeeze." He feels he succeeded, by mobilizing American support against a resolution which coupled a call for ceasefire with an order to the IDF to return to the status quo-antebellum. And the upshot of the political struggle, resolution 242, "remains the workhorse of international diplomacy to this day, keeping the PLO at bay. For a small delegation, from a small country, and without instructions from home, we didn't fare too badly," Rafael says.

Until 1967, says Rafael, Israel was regarded by the Arab states "as something like a mirage. Perhaps if they blinked, it would go away - as today Kahan's people regard the Arabs in the territories. Kahan believes that they are a mirage that will somehow vanish."

The Six Day War persuaded the Arabs that Israel was "a harsh reality." Until then they talked only about burying Israel. Afterwards, there was talk of peace. The blow of 1967, Rafael seems to be saying, brought the Arab states back to reality and paved the way

(Continued on Page 15)

Jewish settlers threaten to quit if Biram, Ikrit villagers return

By DAVID RUDGE
Jerusalem Post Reporter

ROSH HANIKRA. - Israelis living along the Lebanon border have threatened to quit the region if former residents of the Christian Arab villages of Biram and Ikrit are allowed to return.

They maintain that the rebirth of Biram and Ikrit - nearly 40 years after the villagers were forced to leave their homes for security reasons - would cause economic and social problems in the area.

Ya'acov Ya'acov, head of the Ma'aleh Yosef regional council, told Israel Radio that the border settlements would oppose plans, announced by Minister Moshe Arens yesterday, that would enable the Arab evacuees to reestablish their communities in the deserted villages.

Arens, the minister responsible for Arab affairs, insisted that the proposals would not affect existing settlements in any way. He maintained that the Jewish residents in the region would change their minds when they became acquainted with the plan.

The minister, however, remained tight-lipped about details, pending presentation of the proposals to Premier Shamir. If Shamir gives his approval, the plan will be put before the cabinet either

this Sunday or the following week.

Nevertheless, he was optimistic that the recommendations would satisfy the former residents, who have pleaded for years to be allowed to return to the villages and rebuild their homes.

"The proposals were formulated after many months of contact with representatives of the villages, after discussing various alternatives," Arens told *The Jerusalem Post*.

"We think we have come up with a formula that will rectify the wrong done to the residents and end the suffering caused to them over the years," he said.

Arens noted that the plight of the former villagers was unique and deserved special treatment. "I am not aware of all the details, so I cannot say why the matter was not dealt with previously," he added.

The residents of Biram and Ikrit, unlike the majority of Arabs in the region, remained in their villages after the War of Independence, but shortly afterwards the military authorities requisitioned the land for security purposes and the residents had to leave.

They took whatever belongings they could carry, after being assured that they would be able to return to their homes. The displaced villagers found "temporary" accommodation in nearby

settlements and homes abandoned by other Arab families who had fled the fighting.

The Maronite community of Biram settled mainly in Gush Halav, while the Greek Catholics of Ikrit went to other villages in the region.

Subsequently, they moved to Nazareth, Haifa, Acre and villages in the Galilee, where they still live.

Despite the demolition of most of the houses in the two villages - with the exception of the two churches and a few buildings - they never gave up hope of one day returning.

They continue to travel to the site of their homes and regularly hold services, weddings and funerals in the churches. The church in Biram and the adjoining cemetery were renovated several years ago with the aid of the authorities.

The number of former residents of the villages and their descendants has grown from around 1,500 in 1948 to over 3,000 today.

"It will be like a dream come true, if we go back," said Siman Suleiman, who was just four years old when his family left Biram.

Suleiman, a member of the Biram/Ikrit committee, said the former residents were delighted with the announcement of a possible solution to their plight.



A dancer from South Africa's Amampondo troupe shows how it's done as guests at Wednesday night's Israel Festival party join in the fun. (Brian Hendler)

Festival folk have a blast

By LEV BEARFIELD
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Those few hearty Israel Festival personnel who could be found on the job yesterday morning were a bit bleary-eyed, and with good reason. The previous night was the Festival Ball, marking the end of Shavuot and the middle of all the *mishegas*; and a good time was had by all - well into the wee hours.

With festival director Oded Kotler sporting tails and looking the proper ringmaster, various musicians, actors, dancers and mimes presented an international smorgasbord of entertainment for several hundred appreciative invitees at the Jerusalem Theatre. At around midnight Daniela Regnoli of Italy's Potlach Theatre vamped her way through a Brecht-Weill number, and then the stage was cleared for the big finale.

And it was a finale with a bang. The South African Amampondo troupe took the field, swept everything up in their spirited and acrobatic

drum-dance-and-song routine and soon had the whole audience whooping and dancing right along with them. Kotler himself proved he could cut a mean jive step or two.

Well, that's what a festival's all about, or so we're told. By 1 a.m., the action shifted to the Sherover foyer, where a formidable rampart of electronic equipment was putting out the sounds for several solid hours of disco dancing.

By next afternoon, it was back to business as usual, which yesterday mainly meant construction and destruction. French and Israeli technicians, for example, were busy turning the backstage area of the Sherover Theatre into what we assume is going to be a bullring for the Peter Brook production of *Carmen*, which opens tomorrow night.

In the early evening the theme was deconstruction, as the Zik team of local artists set about destroying the sculpture project they'd been working on since the beginning of the

festival. Zik maintains that destruction is an integral part of their art, and in the Hinnom Valley yesterday they demonstrated that ideology with a vengeance.

With pagan drumming, fireworks and flaming pinwheels, the Zik team set ablaze an eight-metre high totem figure seated between two fire-spouting hounds of hell. An enthusiastic crowd of well over 1,000 cheered and applauded at this unique example of art making an ash of itself.

Street performances today will be highlighted by the Potlach company's *Parava*, a "performance parade" slated to begin at 2 p.m. on the Ben-Yehuda pedestrian mall. Don't be alarmed if you hear bombs going off, as that's just part of the show. The Pyramid children's theatre presents *Alice in Magiland* at the Henry Crown Plaza at 3, 4 and 5 p.m. The Megama dance company performs at Liberty Bell Park at 4 p.m.

Uninspired guitarists

John McLaughlin and Paco de Lucia. Binyanei Ha'uma, June 3.

Role-playing rather than listening, the capacity audience bellowed its approval throughout. Yet the truth is the two virtuoso guitarists gave an uninspired concert, not least because they were playing in a stifling old barn more conducive to perspiration than inspiration.

Between mopping their brows, the performers played with vigour

but not much else. In the opening solo sets each handily established his credentials. Together, however, McLaughlin and de Lucia were monotonous. Every selection seemed to have the same tempo, the same guitar-hero bursts, the same percussive punctuation. Soon, even one melody seemed indistinguishable from the next. We saw no point in staying in that airless auditorium for the encore.

MADELINE L. KIND

U.S. sailors renovate ageing community centre

HAIFA (Itim). - Some 40 American sailors descended on the Nesher community centre yesterday to help renovate the ageing facility. The men, whose ship, USS Yellowstone, is docked in Haifa port, recently renovated a day care facility for the blind.

The Israel Interfaith Association The Tel Aviv Interfaith Dialogue Circle remember with appreciation and respect their member and friend

CLOTHILDE MATHYS
of blessed memory
one of the founders of the Tel Aviv Circle, and its coordinator and friendly host for many years.
Who passed away on the eve of Shavuot.
Her life's work for the furtherance of Christian-Jewish and interfaith relations will not be forgotten.

On the completion of the *shloshim* for
MILTON L. FLEISS ז"ל
there will be a memorial service and tombstone unveiling at 2 p.m. on Monday, June 8, 1987 at the Mt. Olives cemetery, Jerusalem.

The unveiling of the tombstone in memory of
CHAIM (Hyman) YITZHAK ABRAMOWITZ ז"ל
will take place at Beit Shemesh cemetery on Thursday, June 11, 1987, at 5:30 p.m.
We shall meet in front of the funeral parlour.
Evening Azkara: 6:45 p.m. at Beit Knesset Merkezi, 1 Hahagana St., French Hill, Jerusalem.
Wife, Hanna Abramowitz

We deeply mourn the untimely death in New York of our dear husband, father and grandfather
BERNARD (Billy) STEINBERG
The funeral will take place Sunday, June 7, at Eretz Hachaim cemetery, near Beit Shemesh, at approximately 6:30 p.m., depending on the arrival time of El Al flight 008.
Shiva will be observed at the home of the deceased in New York.
The Bereaved:
Steinberg Family, USA
Citroen Family, Jerusalem
For further information, call Citroen, 02-866886.

Tel Aviv University
mourns the passing of
Dr. CLAUDIO BENTATA
from Venezuela
Member of the Board of Governors
and extends its condolences to his family.

Reagan hails Bonn approval of U.S.-Soviet N-arms cut bid

BONN. - Chancellor Helmut Kohl yesterday announced West Germany's reluctant acceptance of the "double zero" disarmament proposal for withdrawal from Europe of all Soviet and U.S. shorter-range and longer-range Intermediate Nuclear Missiles (INF).

President Reagan, in Venice for the western economic summit opening June 8, yesterday welcomed Bonn's endorsement of the proposed superpower deal.

The White House press spokesman said it was probably fair to say the West German action moved Washington and Moscow "a little closer" to a summit.

However, the Bonn parliament also approved Kohl's proposal to

keep 72 West German missiles and their U.S.-controlled nuclear warheads out of a superpower deal. The Soviet want them included in any agreement.

Kohl said elimination of Nato's intermediate nuclear forces caused concern in West Germany because it would worsen the country's security in view of the superiority of Warsaw Pact countries in short-range nuclear missiles.

"We don't want to and cannot accept such a situation for very long, and this is why we insist on the continuation of the disarmament process," Kohl said in a government statement.

Kohl said a "total and stable" balance in conventional forces in Europe should be reached at the

lowest level, and a convention banning chemical weapons worldwide should be passed as soon as possible.

For West Germans, he said, concern for that Warsaw Pact superiority "can only grow with the elimination of all longer-range and shorter-range INFs."

West Germany could not unconditionally accept scrapping shorter-range INFs, which can hit targets from 500 to 1,800 km. away, because it is "particularly exposed geographically" to Warsaw Pact tactical nuclear missiles with a range of up to 500 km, Kohl said.

Former chancellor Willy Brandt, a Social Democrat, said West Germany should back the proposed superpower accord "without ifs or buts." (AFP, Reuters).

Austria says US played 'dirty trick'

Plans to return expelled Nazi

By ILONA HENRY
Jerusalem Post Correspondent and agencies

VIENNA. - Austria intends to send a Nazi death camp guard expelled by Washington last week back to the U.S. "within the next few hours," Foreign Minister Alois Mock said yesterday.

Mock said the expulsion from the U.S. to Austria of Martin Bartsch, 60, had been "a dirty trick" which Austria would not tolerate.

Bartsch, an admitted Nazi con-

centration camp guard, arrived in Austria last Friday after having his U.S. citizenship revoked by the U.S. Justice Department. He was arrested by Austrian authorities on Monday and declared an undesirable.

Interior Minister Karl Blecha told a press conference here Wednesday that Bartsch had entered Austria on a valid U.S. passport last Friday, the same day a Chicago court stripped him of his U.S. citizenship.

The U.S. Justice Department said

Bartsch was sent back to his country of origin under a law dealing with persons entering the U.S. under false pretences.

Blecha said the same law required the U.S. to inform the country of origin of the deportation. Contrary to international understandings, he said, this had not been done. He added that Bartsch did not hold Austrian citizenship.

The U.S. retorted that it would deny Bartsch entry and would send him back to Austria.

Quebec made full partner in Canada

OTTAWA (AP). - Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and the premiers of the country's 10 provinces signed an accord on Wednesday making Quebec a full constitutional partner by recognizing its distinct French culture.

Mulroney said the agreement reached in marathon talks ending at dawn was not perfect but would halt the trend towards two Canadas, one

French and one English, and would bind the nation together.

"Today we close one chapter in Canadian history and begin another," he said after the premiers signed the document.

Premier Robert Bourassa of Quebec, whose 6.6 million people are mostly native French-speakers and constitute one-quarter of Cana-

da's population, said the accord met his government's five demands for provincial powers.

"It's with great pride as a Quebecois and as a Canadian that I'm here today to express my deep satisfaction with the reintegration of Quebec into the Canadian federation," he told fellow premiers and a national television audience at the signing ceremony.

Soviet army daily says:

Air force should have 'ended' Rust flight

MOSCOW. - The Soviet armed forces' newspaper *Red Star* said yesterday that the air force should have "ended" the flight of the light plane piloted by a West German teenager that landed on Moscow's Red Square a week ago. But the paper did not suggest how this should have been done.

Red Star said the plane, piloted by 19-year-old Matthias Rust, was detected by the Soviet anti-aircraft defence system before it entered Soviet air space and that two fighters flew over the Cessna-172 twice.

The newspaper stressed that Soviet armed forces should always be "ready to take decisive action and know how to utilize the technologi-

cal possibilities in order to put an end to any threat against the security of the nation."

In the same article, *Red Star* praised Soviet pilot Valentin Kuljapin who in 1981 rammed "a foreign military plane" over the southern part of the Soviet Union before ejecting.

Kuljapin was promoted to commander and awarded the Order of the Red Banner.

In Bonn former West German chancellor Willy Brandt yesterday said he could not suppress his respect for Rust's landing near the Kremlin walls - "a crazy, but impressive sporting feat" - but warned against seeing it as proof that the Russians

were harmless.

Deviating from a speech on arms control, Brandt told parliament that Rust's flight from Helsinki to Moscow in a Cessna light plane and his "intrepid but dangerous" landing fascinated West Germans.

But it would be a gross error of judgement to regard the Russians as harmless, "as the Cessna flyer and some of his applauders seem to have done," he added.

Officials in Bonn are in fact adopting a more circumspect approach as concern gradually increased over the fate of the young pilot from Hamburg, now being held in Moscow's military Lefortovo prison. (AFP, REUTERS)



Iran's charge d'affaires Akhundzadeh Basti (right) leaves the Foreign Office in London yesterday after being told that the Iranian consulate in Manchester must be closed and its staff expelled. (AFP telephoto)

UK closes down Iranian consulate, ousts officials

By DAVID HOROVITZ
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

LONDON. - Britain yesterday ordered the closure of the Iranian consulate in Manchester, giving the five Iranian diplomats working there just one week to leave the country.

The Iranian charge d'affaires, here, Akhundzadeh Basti, was informed of the decision at the Foreign Office yesterday lunchtime, and immediately threatened that his government would take countermeasures. The British action, he said, would have a "serious effect" on relations between the two countries.

The decision to close down the consulate and expel the diplomats came after Britain had waited in vain for a week for an apology and explanation of the abduction in Tehran of British diplomat Edward Chaplin.

Chaplin, number two at the British interests in Tehran, was

violently seized from his car on a Tehran motorway last Thursday and held captive for 24 hours. Since his release, the Iranian authorities have threatened to charge Chaplin with offences involving drugs and undermining the Iranian economy.

As of last night, Iran had given no assurance that the charges would not be brought, and there was some concern in Whitehall that Britain's closure of the Manchester consulate might precipitate Iranian action against Chaplin.

Chaplin's abduction was apparently an Iranian reaction to the arrest of one of its Manchester-based diplomats, Ahmad Ghassemi, on charges of shoplifting.

Ghassemi was bailed last week to appear for trial on June 11. However, since he is one of the five Iranian officials yesterday ordered out of the country by June 10, he will not now appear in court.

Lebanon divided as ever

BEIRUT (Reuters). - Lebanon's Christian and Moslem leaders seemed as divided as ever yesterday despite a display of sectarian unity at the funeral of murdered Prime Minister Rashid Karamah.

Moderate Christian cabinet ministers Joseph Skaff and Victor Kassir have joined Moslem mourners in Karamah's northern home town of Tripoli. But political disputes still paralyzed the "national unity" government.

Karamah, a Sunni Moslem and a key Syrian ally, quit his three-year-old government on May 4, saying its rival Moslem and Christian members had failed to end 12 years of civil war.

Christian President Amin

Jemayel, with no viable alternative to Karamah, had not accepted his resignation.

Education Minister Selim Hoss, named acting Prime Minister within hours of Karamah's death, has said he will continue an 18-month-old Moslem boycott of Jemayel.

"The basic status of the cabinet has not changed," Hoss, also a Sunni, told reporters, "I have been appointed acting prime minister of a cabinet that has resigned."

He indicated that he would keep state business running but would not form a new government. The Moslem boycott of Jemayel would continue until the Christians agreed to political reforms giving Moslems a greater say in government.

French police nab 57 in anti-terror sweep

PARIS (AP). - Police arrested 57 North African and Middle Eastern nationals in a nationwide sweep on Wednesday in response to new terrorist threats, the Interior Ministry

announced.

The ministry statement cited weapons possession and fabrication of false documents as grounds for the detentions.

US poll finds Israel should return 'some' occupied land

LOS ANGELES. - In a survey of attitudes about Israel and the Six-Day War, the *Los Angeles Times* found that Americans tend to think Israel should give back at least some territory it took during the 1967 war.

The results of the poll, released on Wednesday, show that 61 per cent of those surveyed said Israel should return at least some territory as a condition of peace. Only 21 per cent felt that all the territory should be kept.

Public support for dealing with the Palestine Liberation Organization has actually dropped - by 10 per cent, to 50 per cent - since the days of the 1978 Camp David accord between Israel and Egypt. Thirty-nine per cent opposed negotiating with the PLO.

The poll showed that American attitudes toward Israel had changed little overall in the last two decades. About half of those interviewed - 48 per cent - said they held the same opinion about Israel as they did twenty years ago, while 20 per cent reported a less favourable attitude and 17 per cent a more favourable one. The remainder had no opinion.

Asked their basic impression of the present government of Israel, respondents were divided - 37 per cent in favour, 30 per cent opposed, and 33 per cent not sure.

£60,000 wine binge at Fortnum's

LONDON (Reuters). - Four young men drank their way through £60,000 sterling (\$100,000) worth of vintage champagne and wine at the exclusive London store where they worked, police said yesterday.

The four, who face charges of theft, used paper cups to get through some of the best stock in the wine department of Fortnum and Mason, grocers to the British royal family.

Police, called in when annual stock-taking revealed a large discrepancy, said they did not know how long the tasting session had been going on. "The four men appear to have developed something of a taste for fine wines," a police spokesman said. "They didn't bother with the ordinary stuff, thinking that if they were going to steal, they might as well do it properly. The amazing thing is that they didn't apparently do it for profit - they drank the lot."

FOREIGN BRIEFS

Anti-leprosy vaccine discovered in Spain

ALICANTE (Reuters). - Spanish doctors said yesterday they had discovered a successful anti-leprosy vaccine which stimulated the body's natural defences against the disease.

Dr. Terencio de las Aguas, head of a leprosy sanatorium in Alicante, southern Spain, told reporters his centre had obtained positive results by inoculating lepers with a bacillus similar to the mycobacterium leprae which causes leprosy.

Electronic weekly folds

LONDON (AP). - *Sunday Today*, the sister weekly of Britain's first electronically produced newspaper, *Today*, is ceasing publication, its owner has announced.

Sunday Today and the daily *Today* were launched in March 1986 by entrepreneur Eddy Shah, revolutionizing the outmoded machinery and shopfloor customs on Fleet Street.

New Zealand makes

no-Nuke policy law

WELLINGTON (AP). - New Zealand's parliament yesterday passed legislation upholding the Labour government's executive ban on nuclear weapons and nuclear-powered warships.

The New Zealand Nuclear Free Zone, Disarmament and Arms Control Act formalizes a policy that last year forced the end of Wellington's 35-year-old security alliance with the U.S.

Cairo editor shot

CAIRO (AP). - A leading editor and chairman of a state-owned publishing house was wounded slightly when unknown gunmen opened fire on his car in Cairo's third terrorist attack in a month, officials and newspapers said yesterday.

Makram Mohammed Ahmed, 52, editor of the weekly magazine *Al-Mussawwar* who is known as a close confidant of President Mubarak, suffered minor injuries in his right hand from glass shards.

2 Saudi ex-officials

indicted for fraud

HOUSTON (AP). - Two former Saudi Arabian officials have been charged with defrauding their government of at least \$35 million in educational funds, federal officials announced Wednesday.

A 25-count indictment alleges the two used money earmarked for the educational and living expenses of Saudi students in the U.S. to buy companies and real estate and make other investments overseas, according to Assistant U.S. Attorney Mitchell B. Lansden.

Kurds kill 3 Turkish

soldiers, shepherd

ANKARA (Reuters). - Three soldiers and a shepherd were killed yesterday when Kurdish guerrillas ambushed a military patrol near a village in the eastern Turkish province of Tunceli, state radio reported.

Seven soldiers were also seriously wounded in the shooting near the village of Sarisalik. The troops were hunting for the rebel band, believed to number about 10.

Fires in North China

finally extinguished

BEIJING (AFP). - The fires which devastated forests in northern China are out, an official said here yesterday. Firefighters have been helped by rain in their efforts against blazes which started up again, the official *China Daily* said yesterday.

The fires which broke out on May 6 and were the worst in 40 years, left 191 people dead in their wake.

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Director-General for Political Affairs, Foreign Ministry
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* The circular mailed to members on 26 May contained an error regarding cost. The figures above are the correct ones.

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Poll shows drop for Tories

By DAVID HOROVITZ
Jerusalem Post Correspondent and agencies

LONDON. - Britain's Labour opposition leader Neil Kinnock said yesterday that his party was poised to inflict "total defeat" on the ruling Conservative Party of

Margaret Thatcher after latest polls showed a slump in her support.

A Gallup poll published yesterday saw support for the Conservatives fall by four points to 40.5 per cent against 36.5 for Labour, which moved up 0.5 points. The Liberal Social Democratic Alliance saw their score rise from a rock bottom 18 per cent to 21.5 per cent.

A buoyant Kinnock, who was speaking during a visit to a London hospital, said, "We are closing on the Tories. We have passed them in most of the marginals we need to inflict total defeat."

Three Labour candidates will reverse a 58-year trend if, as is likely, they become the fourth, fifth and sixth non-white MPs ever.

Paul Boateng, Bernie Grant and Diane Abbott are all of Afro-Caribbean origin, all are standing in London constituencies, and all are defending sizeable Labour majorities.

Boateng, in Brent South, is easily the safest bet, inheriting a majority

of over 10,000 from retiring MP Laurie Pavitt, and a constituency with a high proportion of black voters.

Soft-spoken and articulate, Boateng believes on the one hand that his colour helps him understand the problems of minority groups, and on the other, that he should not be stereotyped as a black MP. Rather, he says, if elected, he should be seen as representing a whole community.

Labour's candidate in Tottenham, Harney Council leader Grant, is defending a majority of 9,396, but looks set to have a slightly tougher time than Boateng.

Grant made some rather unfortunate statements on the subject of riots at the Broadwater Farm council estate in which a policeman was murdered and is still trying to live down his apparently jubilant remark that "the police took a hammering."

But the local constabulary has apparently forgiven him, for police spokesmen have stated that he

THE BEST OF BRITISH

would make a fine MP.

Grant, in return seems to have cut back on the fiery rhetoric, limiting his appearances to carefully controlled public gatherings, seeking to avoid giving Tory rival Peter Murphy any ammunition with which to shoot down his campaign.

Abbott, in Hackney North, is defending a majority of 8,545, with the benefit of a 31 per cent-strong black population, so she seems to have a good chance of reaching Westminster, provided, of course, that the "loony left" tag many Labour candidates have attracted in London does not deter too many voters.

While four of Labour's other 11 black candidates also have fair chances of success on June 11, the same cannot be said for any of the Alliance's seven or the Conservatives' six ethnic candidates.

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By DVORAH GETZLER
Post Knesset Reporter

Kach MK Meir Kahane will be in political limbo as of 4 p.m. next Monday if he refuses Speaker Shimon Peres' order to make the declaration of loyalty to the state which is prescribed for all MKs.

Should Kahane refuse, or simply find it inconvenient to appear as requested in the plenum, it is understood that Hillel will inform the House Committee and instruct them that Kahane - from that point on - has no privileges as an MK.

Kahane has said he plans to petition the High Court of Justice against Hillel's decision. Legal sources believe that the extreme right-wing MK would stand little chance of redress against the Speaker's ruling.

Indeed, it is said that Hillel gave Attorney-General Yosef Harish several months to come up with an opinion precisely because such a showdown was anticipated.

Hillel wrote to Kahane yesterday, after receiving an opinion from Harish which indicated that, whatever else Kahane had done when taking his seat as an MK in the summer of 1984, he had not declared his loyalty to the state.

What Kahane said at the time was: "I pledge to keep your [God's] laws always, forever and after," a passage which comes from the book of Psalms. Kach, contacted at mid-day yesterday, said they had "no comment ready, yet."

If Kahane declares loyalty to the state, it is believed that he may be in danger of losing his U.S. citizenship. That would, in turn, make it difficult -

Must make declaration of loyalty by Monday

Kahane faces loss of MK status

and perhaps impossible - for him to visit the U.S. on fund-raising missions.

The press attaché at the U.S. Embassy would only reply "no comment" when queried on this yesterday. And there was a similar "no comment" reaction to the question whether the embassy would be reporting on the outcome of the matter to the State Department.

Mapam MK Elazar Granot, who has spearheaded a campaign to loosen, if not totally dislodge, Kahane's footing in the political arena, said on learning of the decision that he would take steps to inform the U.S. authorities.

"We would, of course, prefer not to have Kahane in the Knesset. But if he has to be here, then let it be without the benefit of U.S. citizenship and the chance of raising money in the U.S.," Granot said.

Granot last January sent the Speaker a photostat of the affidavit that Kahane had made to a U.S. court last September stating that he had not taken the Knesset oath as prescribed.

The affidavit was part of Kahane's successful legal fight against an attempt by the State Department to deprive him of his U.S. nationality.

When Kahane took his seat, the National Reli-



Meir Kahane (Rahamin Israeli)

gious Party's Yosef Burg, acting as Speaker prior to Hillel's election, repeatedly tried to get the Kach leader to make the standard declaration, even saying he would permit the addition of "by the help of God." But Kahane repeatedly insisted on his own amendment of the rubric.

Eventually, Burg extricated himself from the embarrassment by invoking a Talmudic precept and asserting that he had Kahane confirm that he had said "I pledge" without any addition. But few, if any, other MKs could substantiate what Burg said he had heard.

Kahane and his attorneys are also on record - in communications to the State Department after his election to the Knesset - as saying that he "has never intended, nor does he ever intend" to relinquish voluntarily his "valued status as a national of the United States of America."

In another letter, to Allan Romburg at the State Department, Kahane charged that it was politics, rather than his membership of the Knesset, that was motivating U.S. moves to strip him of citizenship. No such steps had been taken against Moshe Arens, who, Kahane wrote, had also held U.S. citizenship when he became an MK.

Police gear up for June 5 anniversary

By BERNARD JOSEPHS

BETHLEHEM. - Most police leave will be cancelled today as the force mobilizes extra men to deal with possible disturbances in the territories on the 20th anniversary of the Six Day War.

"We do not have reserves like the army, but we will make a maximum effort," Police Minister Haim Bar-Lev said here yesterday.

Discussions between police chiefs and IDF officers were continuing over security arrangements, said the minister. And although security was the business of the army, "the police will be on full alert."

Other officials accompanying Bar-Lev stressed that the visit to this West Bank town had no connection

with the anniversary of the war. "I was last here a year ago, and I felt it was time to come back," the minister said.

Both he and Bethlehem Mayor Elias Freij agreed that crime in the town was down from last year and that relations were good between local people and the force. "There will be no mafia in Bethlehem," the mayor was reported as saying.

Answering questions, Bar-Lev rejected implications that the police sometimes reacted differently towards criminal acts by Jews and Arabs.

"The police are objective, and I do not know of any cases where action has not been taken for political

reasons," he said. The force had matters well under control, despite shortages in manpower and resources, he added.

Questioned about the police inquiry into the Shin Bet following the Nafsu affair, Bar-Lev said he could give no information beyond confirming the probe was under way.

"There will be no details given about the people involved or any other matters connected to the inquiry. When it is over, it will be up to the attorney-general to decide what to do with the case," he said.

Referring to the escape of six security prisoners from Gaza jail last month, Bar-Lev said that the matter was being studied by the legal adviser of the Prisons Service.

The minister was particularly scathing about the smuggling of a saw into the cell, which the escapees used to cut through the bars of a window.

"Things like drugs can be hidden inside the body and are difficult to detect. But a saw can't be hidden this way, so someone definitely did something wrong," he said.

If security outside the cells had been up to par, and if regular checks of the bars had been carried out, the escapees would have failed in their efforts, the minister added.

In the wake of the escape, said Bar-Lev, security was being stepped up in all jails, and the service was thinking of purchasing bars that sound an alarm whenever they are tampered with.

Strikes - Are they killing elderly patients?

By LEA LEVAVI

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. - The death rate in Israel seems to have gone up by 7 to 10 per cent since September, particularly among 65- to 84-year-olds who are the primary consumers of health care, former Health Ministry director-general Baruch Modan told reporters here yesterday.

Modan suggested that the increase may have been connected with the series of strikes and industrial actions that plagued hospitals during this period.

Modan, who now works at Sheba Hospital, Tel Hashomer, and is a professor of epidemiology at Tel Aviv University, heads the organizing committee of an international symposium on health policy that is to be held at the Larmore Hotel in Jerusalem on Monday. The interdisciplinary gathering will try to deal with the question - plaguing all developing countries, not just Israel - of how to provide a reasonable standard of health care to all despite burgeoning costs and budgetary constraints.

More research is needed on why the death rate seems to be higher in the last few months, Modan said carefully, but it may be because of the "noises in the system" - the less than optimal allocation of resources which results in waste in one place and inadequate care in another.

He said a study at Sheba Hospital showed that hospitalization days could be cut by 50 per cent by increasing use of day care clinics, and by carrying out diagnostic procedures outside hospital. The results were published in the *Lancet*, but Israeli officials who received the data (including the health and finance ministers) have not responded to the report. Today, hospitals that shorten patients' stays are penalized since they are allocated funds according to the number of days of hospitalization. The rules of the game will have to be changed before hospitals can become more efficient.

Allocation of resources is sometimes influenced by public pressure, Modan said. This is the case when doctors prescribe expensive, and not necessarily useful, medication for incurable patients because their families demand it, or when the government opens seven Aids examination centres when one central facility could have handled the thousands of examinations which all the centres together have performed.

A Health Ministry spokesman said last night that Modan's allegations were "not true."

Prof. Shimon Shert of the Haifa University Medical School said that, since the doctors' strike, it had become more difficult to attract young doctors to residencies in the hospitals.

The current need is for about 15 to 20 new surgeons annually and the demand is such that employers offer third- and fourth-year students part-time jobs even before they graduate, he said.

Eitro added that the army is now also feeling the need for more surgeons (for which Arabs are not eligible), and has started encouraging potential candidates for the Academic Reserves to study the subject. This will alter the present proportion of Jewish and Arab students to some extent.

Zaidan Jamal, 24, from Yama village in the Triangle, who is now in his fourth year, believes that one of the attractions of the subject for Israeli Arabs is that it is concerned with land, its measurement and parcelation. "We like land and we have

Netanyahu confident:

'UN to open files on suspect Nazis within weeks'

By WALTER RUBY

Jerusalem Post Correspondent

NEW YORK. - Israeli ambassador to the UN Benjamin Netanyahu is confident that Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar will announce "within weeks" that the UN will open its War Crimes Commission files to individuals requesting permission to view them.

Israel has been demanding for more than a year that there be unrestricted access to the 40,000 files on suspected Nazi war criminals compiled by the UN during the 1940s and kept in the world body's archives ever since. Until recently, however, all but one member country (Australia) of the now defunct UN War Crimes Commission took the position that only government bodies, and not individuals, ought to have access to the files.

Perez de Cuellar has said that he will base his decision on whether to open the files on the wishes of all 17 former members of the commission.

Netanyahu's expression of optimism came after U.S. Ambassador Vernon Walters wrote to Perez de Cuellar, officially informing him that his country had changed its position against individuals being given access to the files. In his letter, Walters specified that the U.S. would back its citizens' requests for access, provided that they first receive the proper accreditation from U.S. authorities. Two other former members of the commission, the Netherlands

and Yugoslavia, have also reversed earlier positions concerning easier access.

According to Fred Nejme, a spokesman for Walters, the U.S. has asked Perez de Cuellar "to inform other War Crimes Commission members of our views. We are sure they will be taken into account."

The *Jerusalem Post* reported last month the decision of Secretary of State George Shultz that the U.S. should drop its opposition to individuals being allowed to see the files after American Jewish leaders forcefully raised the issue with him.

Netanyahu's spokesman, Eyal Arad, said the Israeli ambassador is confident that other countries will change their position within the next week. He added that Netanyahu had been informed by highly placed UN officials that "the secretary-general does not view this issue in a mathematical way," suggesting that Perez de Cuellar might order the files to be opened even if the majority of the 17-member group do not support the move.

According to Arad, Israel is "very satisfied" with the new U.S. position, despite the stipulation that individuals must win government approval before being shown the material.

The trend towards the Israeli position should intensify in the coming weeks, Arad said. "No one wants to be last to jump on this bandwagon."



Despite the deep pall of mourning over much of Lebanon following the assassination of Prime Minister Rashid Karamah, for these soldiers of the South Lebanon Army it is business as usual, bombarding enemy positions north of the security zone. (P. Tiktiner/Media)

SHFAYIM FESTIVAL. The Berlin String Quintet. (June 2.) Detlef Grevensmühl and Juan Pastor - violins, Horn Sprenger and Ralf Koschek - violas, Michael Hossia - cello, Mozart: Quintets in B-flat major, K. 174; in G minor, K. 516; in C major, K. 515; Mario Marqués, counter-tenor, with Nuno Vieira de Almeida, pianist. (June 2.) Works by Caldara, Caccini, Carissimi, Marcello, Gluck, Haydn, Mozart, Ravel.

MAKING THE MOZART string quintets sound stiff and dull is admittedly an achievement, however dubious. No less noteworthy is a faculty for introducing banality into the most inspired passages.

On the evidence of their Tuesday night concert, the Berlin String

Making the worst of Mozart

Quartet's main concern is in staying together, which they achieve - not with total success - on the most basic metronome level. Along the way, they glide - nay, march - over their myriad exquisite expressive details, taking no heed of their existence.

The phrasing is angular and heavy, the emphasis uniformly harsh, the

tone thin and inflexible.

Then there were pitch problems, mainly in the first violin and first viola parts, which one should be spared when listening to first rank players from the Berlin Opera orchestra. Could it be that the quartet members were missing firm direction? Or perhaps the Berlin String Quartet's reputation is akin to the emperor's new clothes.

nant characteristic of Mario Marqués' performance at Shfayim on Tuesday, it would no doubt be the singer's intense dedication to the music. Add his bright and flexible counter-tenor which fared equally well over the broad tessitura range, his discerning stylistic approach - and it follows that 30-year-old Portuguese singer's local debut was a well-earned success.

From the Renaissance dignity of Giulio Caccini and the deeply-felt expressiveness of Gluck and Mozart to the brilliantly vivid characterizations in Ravel's "Histoires Naturelles" (appearing in the Hebrew programme as "Historic Impressions"), the singer's communicative power never failed.

ELI KAREV

WERE ONE to single out the domi-

The undersigned Israeli academics express their deep concern at the recent order to close the Bir Zeit University for four months, suspending all studies for some 2500 students.

The closure was reportedly prompted by a political demonstration by a group of students, some of whom erected roadblocks and threw stones before being dispersed. We deplore such violence, whether on the part of students, or others, and recognize the authorities' responsibility to control and discourage it. This responsibility includes pressing charges against individual lawbreakers, and making every effort to locate them. However, we disagree with the present collective punishment which harms many innocent people.

We call on the government to refrain from such punitive measures. We urge that the Bir Zeit University be reopened without delay, so that law-abiding students may pursue their activities in accordance with the principles of academic freedom subscribed to by Israel and other democracies.

Uri Adas, WIS
Zvi Agur, WIS
Dan Amich, WIS
Aharon Antonovski, BG
Helen Antonovski, BG
Yehoshua Arieli, HU
Michael Barman, BG
Lois Bar Yaskov, HU
Ilan Ben Zvi, WI
Daniel Boyarin, BI
Achi Brandt, WIS
Oryl Brodeur, WIS
David Cohen, WIS
Roy Caplan, WIS
Irun Cohen, WIS
Mendel Cohen, WIS
Ehud Dahan, HU
Eitan Domani, WIS
Edi Doron, HU
Genda Elia, BG
Yehuda Falk, HU
Mati Farkas, HU
Yitzhak Fishman, WIS
Amnon Fruchtman, WIS
Avraham Gal, HU
Yaela Gampel, TA
Joel Gat, WIS
Dan Gilon, HU
Carlos Gitter, WIS
Amiram Goldblum, HU
Leon Goldstein, TA
Ruth Goldstein, WIS
Bernard Green, HU
Uzo Heller Kalai, HU
Peter Hillman, HU
Baruch Hochman, HU
Richard Hornreich, WIS
Eduardo Huler, HU
Na'omi Huler, TA
Zvi Jagendorff, HU
Steve Karish, WIS
Alvin Kaye, WIS
Vital Khazoum, HU
Sol Kime, TH
Michael Kinson, WIS
Meier Lahav, WIS
John Landau, HU
Judith Levy, HU
Harry Ljakin, WIS
Mickie Loeb, BG
Sidney Loeb, BG
Uri Maor, TA
Anita Mithweh, HU
Gabriel Motzkin, HU
Ruth Nevo, HU
Jurgens Nierad, HU
Victor Nino, WIS
Dan Nisho, BG
Adi Parosh, BG
Iris Parosh, BG
Anatol Ragav, WIS
Shlomo Rimon-Kelman, HU
Avraham Rinat, WIS
Na'omi Rinat, WIS
Moshe Ron, HU
Haim Shoshita, WIS
Yehoshua Rodin, WIS
Hector Rubinetein, WIS
Smil Rutman, WIS
Dov Sagl, WIS
Joel Schechter, BG
Zila Schechter, WIS
Adam Schwimmer, WIS
Nati Seiberg, WIS
Sara Shalev, TA
Naomi Shit, BG
Uri Smilanski, WIS
Witold Stein, HU
Joel Sussman, WIS
Wolfe Traub, WIS
Zvi Vager, WIS
Michael Wade, HU
Daniel Wagner, WIS
Linda Wagner, WIS
Zvi Weismann, WIS
Henry Welch, HU
Rafi Ya'ari, WIS
Joseph Zefra, HU
Edy Zeman, HU
Joel Ziv, HU

BI Bar-Ilan University
BG Ben-Gurion University
HU Hebrew University
TA Tel Aviv University
TH Technion
WIS Weizmann Institute of Science

TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY

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African StudiesThe Kaplan Chair in the
History of Egypt and
IsraelInternational Conference on:
EGYPT FROM MONARCHY TO REPUBLIC:
STRUCTURAL CONTINUITY AND DYNAMICS
OF CHANGE

Tuesday, June 9

9:00-11:00 a.m. Structures of Domestic Politics

Chair: Michael Brecher

Lectures: P.J. Vatrikakis, Elie Kedourie, Gabriel Ben-Dor

Discussion opened by Amnon Cohen

11:30 a.m.-1:30 p.m. The Frameworks of Economic

Development

Chair: Haim Ben Shalom

Lectures: Gad Gilbar, Robert Tignor, John Waterbury

Discussion opened by Eliezer Sheffer

3:00 p.m.-5:00 p.m. Social Groups and Social Values

Chair: S.N. Eisenstadt

Lectures: James Mayfield, Thomas Philipp, Rivka Yadin

Discussion opened by Emanuel Marx

Wednesday, June 10

9:00-11:00 a.m. Islamic Beliefs and Institutions

Chair: Elie Bar-Navi

Lectures: Oliver Carré, Hava Lazarus-Yafeh, Michael Winter

Discussion opened by Uri Kupferschmidt

11:30 a.m.-1:30 p.m. Intellectuals and Change

Chair: Joel Kraemer

Lecture: Shimon Shamir, Israeli Gershoni, Jack Crabos, Ami Ayalon

Discussion opened by Daniel Brumberg

3:00-5:00 p.m. Egypt's Regional Role

Chair: Sylvia Haim

Lectures: Gabriel Warburg, Yehoshua Porath, Itamar Rabinovich

Discussion opened by Uriel Dann and Eran Lerman

The Conference sessions will be held in Room 496, Gilman Bldg., Ramat Aviv Campus. Detailed program may be obtained at the Center's office, Room 419, Gilman Bldg.

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Flight of fancy?

Part of the problem surrounding the current cabinet discussions on the future of the Lavi fighter plane is that figures are hard to come by. *The Jerusalem Post's* Aviation Reporter Avi Hoffmann points out that 'no two authorities agree on the most basic piece of data — the cost of the plane.'

THE CABINET this week completed its second marathon discussion in a series intended to decide the fate of the Lavi. It is fitting that the country's political leaders should seriously consider the fate of a project that could affect the security and economic well-being of the country over the coming decades.

However, the question arises: Where were the decision-makers during the past decade while the Lavi grew from a gleam in its designer's eye to a rapidly developing \$1.5 billion fledgling which has completed over 40 test flights?

The answer is that since its conception, the Lavi has been approved by no less than five defence ministers (Weizman, Begin, Sharon, Arens and Rabin), who on taking office each reviewed and subsequently gave the go-ahead to the development of the advanced home-made warplane.

If so, why is an atmosphere of crisis now building up around this 'national project'?

Part of the problem is that figures are hard to come by and no two authorities agree on the most basic piece of data — the cost of the plane. An American Department of Defence team, headed by Dr. Dov Zakheim, came up last year with the figure of \$22 million for the unit cost of the Lavi, while the manufacturers, Israel Aircraft Industries, estimated the cost to be \$15.5 million. A study by the U.S. Congress's General Accounting Office put the figure at \$18 million per plane, while a cost estimate by the U.S. Grumman corporation was closer to the IAI figures.

However, there are two crucial factors involved: first that the Lavi's prime (and so far only) customer, the IAF, orders enough planes and second that the funding comes in a steady stream. Delays in funding result in development delays which push up costs and insufficient IAF orders would drive up the price per plane to impossible heights.

The original conception envisioned an IAF order of 300. This is now considered unrealistic by the air force and the numbers being bandied about range from 75 to 150. IAI could probably live with a small initial order, as long as several hundred were eventually built. A successful production model and renewed warfare would undoubtedly push the balance in favour of a longer production series.

There is another problem with the unit-cost figures mentioned by Zakheim et al. A unit-cost figure of \$10 million or \$20 million or whatever will not get your plane in the air and fighting. You have to add perhaps more than double that figure per plane to get a squadron combat-ready.

Each plane requires a hangar full of spare parts, including spare engines (which in the case of the Lavi runs to some \$3-4 million each). You

have to establish a technological infrastructure to keep the planes fighting fit and constantly upgraded to be able to face the best the enemy has to offer. This is generally part of the package offered by the manufacturer and carries a significant price tag.

The Lavi is constantly being compared to the U.S.-built F-16, whose unit cost is around \$15 million. However, the package of 75 F-16s, presently being supplied to the IAF, reportedly cost some \$3 billion, which works out to \$40 million total cost per plane.

The Defence Ministry's economic adviser Zvi Trop was quoted as telling the cabinet this week that two F-16Cs can be purchased for the price of one Lavi. He apparently based his figures on a package purchase of 75 F-16s versus building at least 100 Lavis. Does this mean that Trop believes that the total cost to the air force of each Lavi will be \$80 million? Do Trop's figures take into account the drop in price if more than 100 Lavis are built?

SO FAR, some \$1.5 billion has been spent on the project (this figure is not in dispute). Most of the funds came in the form of U.S. aid specifically earmarked for the Lavi. But even \$1.5 billion is not a sum to be taken lightly and why were alarm bells not set off while this money was being spent?

Well, the money was first allocated in the Begin-Sharon-Arens era (Weizman was in favour of a smaller, cheaper plane) and they saw the Lavi as ushering Israel into the league of aerospace superstars. Moreover, this was the time of the Likud's "proper" economics and who then could keep track of those increasingly worthless shekels?

A shattered economy (and a war in Lebanon) brought in a national unity government which began to tighten the belt. The lion's share of the national budget is allocated to defence and this was slashed drastically.

Two-and-a-half years later, the IDF feels that it has been bled dry and is loathe to pay from its "meagre" purse for the grandiose "national" programme to build an advanced warplane. It reportedly believes that the money could be better spent to purchase other desperately needed weapons systems.

This is apparently why the IDF, under new Chief of General Staff Rav-Aluf Dan Shomron (never a fan of the Lavi), has become a major opponent of the project. However, this could simply be a tactical move to force the government to remove the Lavi from the defence budget and fund it by some other means. Because, on the face of things, it would appear that the IAF needs the Lavi.

The contention, leaked to the press by anonymous air force officers, that the Lavi will not be better than the F-16 appears disingenuous.

Obviously there is always a risk that a new machine under development will turn out to be a lemon. But if the Lavi lives up to expectations — and so far it has kept on schedule and exceeded design requirements (there are, however, still crucial development hurdles to be negotiated) — there is every reason to suppose that it will prove much better than the F-16 in its primary role as a strike aircraft. The F-16 was not designed primarily as an attack aircraft, even though it does have this capability, and comparing the two craft is somewhat similar to comparing a long-jumper to a high-jumper.

The Lavi has the advantage of a decade of technological advances over the F-16 and has built-in all the wealth of experience of IAF pilots — the most combat-tested force in modern times.

It is specifically designed to survive in one of the densest anti-aircraft missile environments on the globe — that facing Israel on the Syrian front. The IAF has no desire to relive the trauma of the Yom Kippur War when over 100 pilots were blasted out of the skies by missiles over the Egyptian and Syrian fronts.

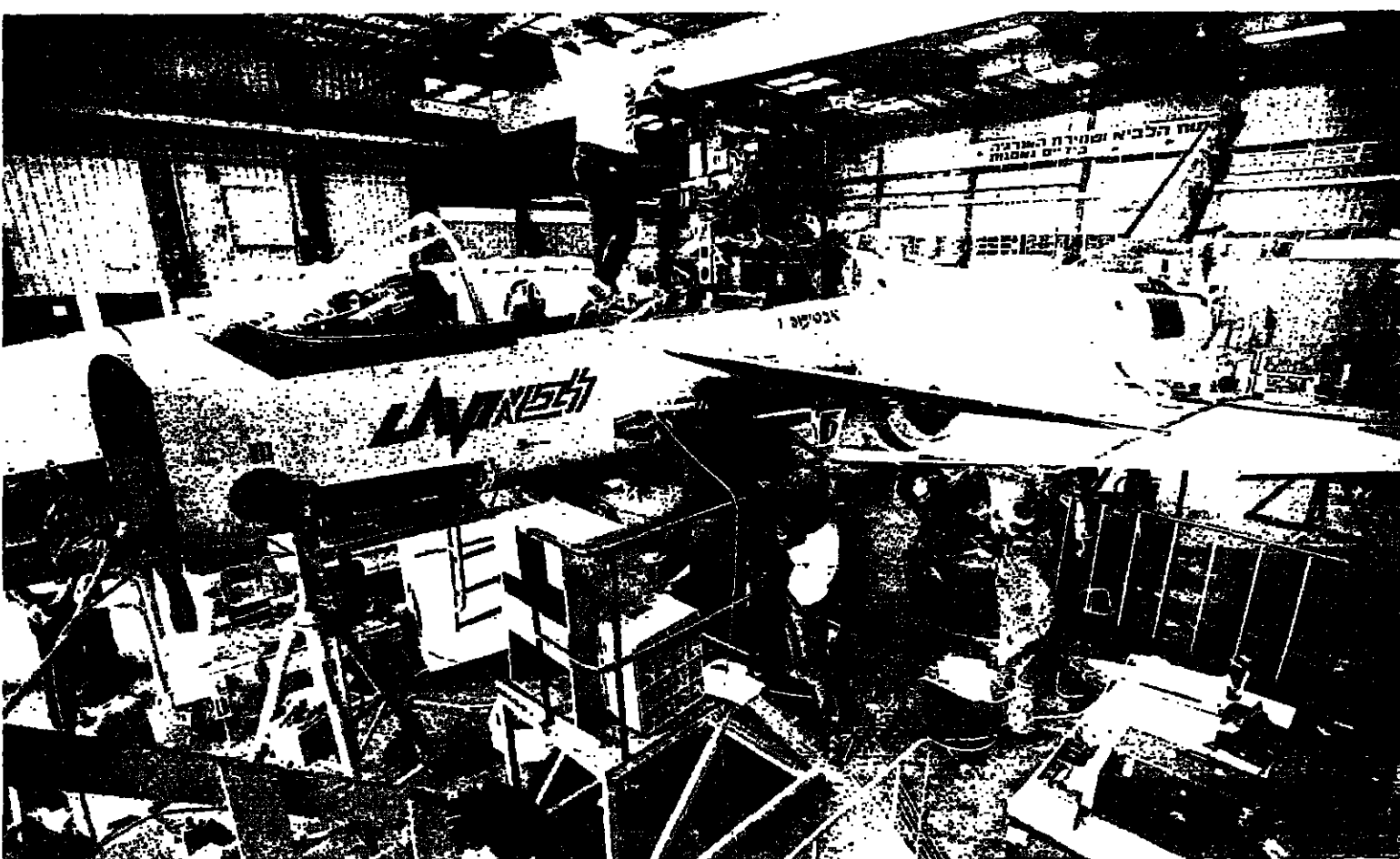
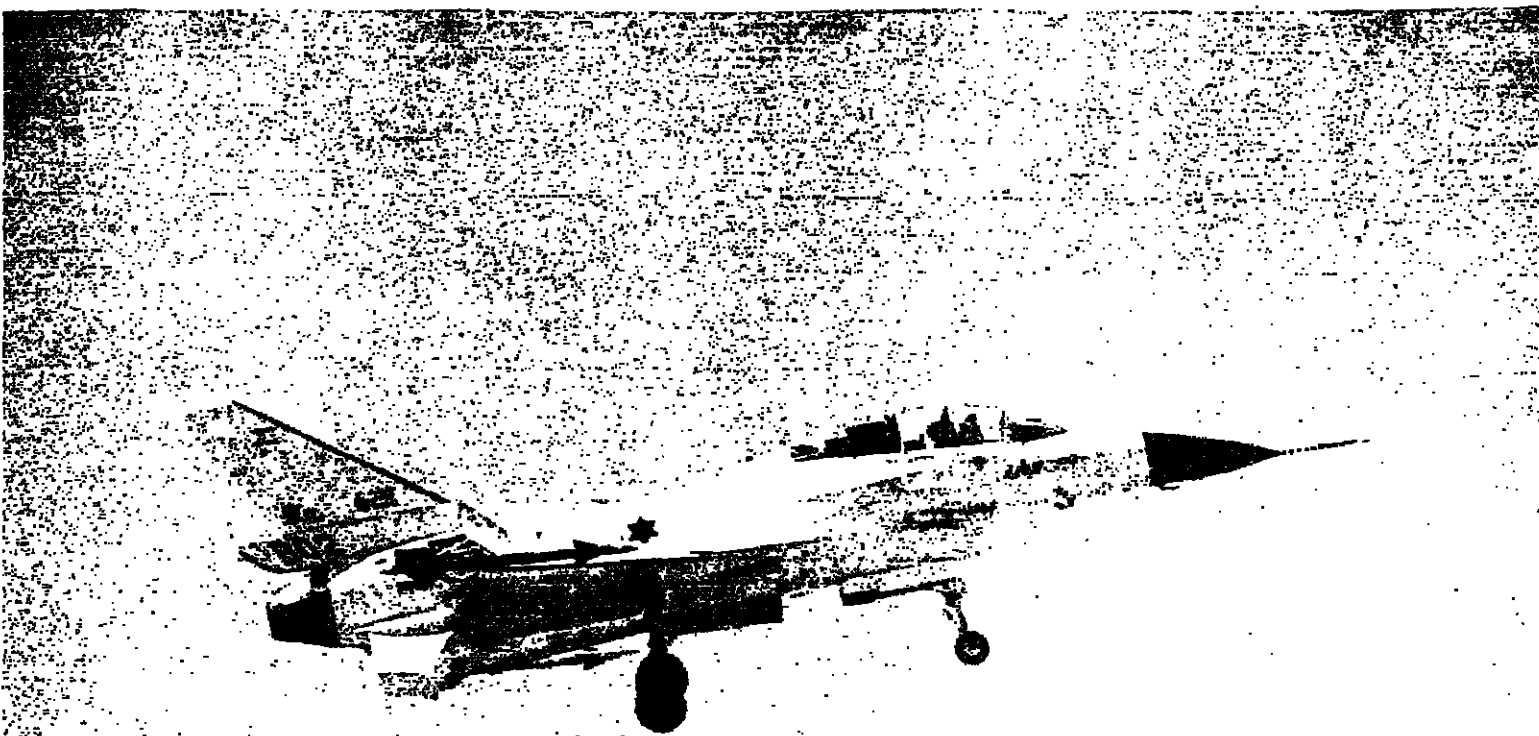
The Lavi will have super-sophisticated (and highly-classified) systems that will help IAF strike pilots survive in the missile saturated environment in which the next war will be fought. At the same time, it will have a respectable air-to-air capability (not as good as the F-16s, but this is not the Lavi's primary role). The air force will maintain a mix of F-15s and F-16s and possibly the ATF (advanced tactical fighter) — a prohibitively expensive U.S. machine still on the drawing boards) in the air superiority role.

THERE IS at present in the West nothing similar to the Lavi that is at such an advanced stage of development. The Swedish Gripen is behind schedule and will only fly later this year. The Gripen is similar to the Lavi, but the Swedes won't sell planes to Israel. Stockholm apparently believes it is economically viable even though the Swedish Air Force will buy only 140 planes.

The French, Germans and British were not able to agree on a common new fighter-bomber and so Dassault is going it alone with its Rafale and the Germans and British are developing the EFA (European fighter aircraft). Neither craft is anywhere near the stage of development of the Lavi.

The Norwegian Air Force, which, like Israel's, must deal with the threat posed by the latest Soviet strike aircraft, is considering replacing its force of 70 F-16s with the Rafale or Gripen.

Presumably, if Norway did not have to worry about Arab reaction, it would also be looking into the Lavi to contend with rapidly increasing Soviet air capability in its region.



The Lavi in flight; if it is scrapped what will happen to these workers?

(Micha Bar-Am)

No new plane of this type is being developed in the U.S. and this is presumably the reason why the major U.S. manufacturer Grumman signed a memorandum of understanding with IAI last year to explore the possibility of co-production and marketing in the U.S.

This is another major point that the ministers will have to consider. Grumman, which builds the wings and vertical tail of the Lavi, will obviously not embark on a joint venture with IAI unless a firm decision is made to go ahead with the Lavi. But if such an arrangement with Grumman does come to pass and the plane is marketed in the U.S. and elsewhere, then the economic objections to the project fall away.

But of course this is a large gamble. There are chances of great reward, but also great risk. If the

aircraft fails to fulfil expectations or if insufficient numbers are produced, then it will have proven to be a great economic burden without any real advantage. A recent example of such a failure is the F-20. Northrop sank over \$1.5 billion in the project without being able to sell a plane.

The F-20 fiasco is possibly one of the factors that have hardened Pentagon attitudes toward the Lavi. Support for the Lavi in the U.S. rests mainly on Congress which passed a special act to fund the Lavi in the face of Defence Department objections.

The Pentagon is obviously interested in keeping U.S. manufacturers (including Northrop) happy by ensuring that the IAF buys American products. This also serves to keep Israel on a string, as when the supply of F-16s was delayed following the IAF bombing of the Iraqi

nuclear reactor.

Bitter experience with embargoes was a major factor that led to the development of an Israeli aircraft-building capability. That is not to say that a future U.S. embargo would not affect the Lavi programme since over 120 American subcontractors are involved in supplying major systems, including the engine. However, all the contracts with U.S. suppliers allow for eventual manufacture of all systems in Israel.

The technological boost the project has already given Israeli industry, including local manufacturers apart from IAI, has been well documented. If the project is killed, alternative orders may not be able to take up the slack, certainly not at first. And it is far from certain that the money saved (if there is anything left over once an alternative airplane is purchased) will be readily available to the IDF.

The death of the Lavi will have wide-ranging effects on the whole of Israel industry and its potential for moving into the 21st century. If the Lavi goes down, it will also bring down other enterprises. A case in point is Beit Shemesh Engines, which has reached a high level of technical expertise, but now hovers on the brink of closure because of grandiose expansion plans in the heady days of Aridor economics. BSE is earmarked to produce the Pratt and Whitney PW1120 engine for the Lavi and the loss of this order would almost definitely push the engine plant over the brink.

Thus, the ministers considering the future of the Lavi must act both boldly and carefully since the implications of the decision will be felt in Israel industry and the armed forces — and may well affect the fate of the nation.

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There is perhaps no more demanding job for an Israel diplomat than that of ambassador in Washington. Meir Rosenne, who has just ended his term in the U.S., talks of the intricacies of the office in this wide-ranging interview with Washington Correspondent WOLF BLITZER

MISSION FULFILLED

HAVING COMPLETED a four-year assignment in Washington, Ambassador Meir Rosenne, is returning home basically upbeat about the future of American-Israel relations, despite all the recent difficulties.

"I remember the days when a U.S. navy ship was to visit Haifa," he said. "It was discussed and negotiated for several months. That is no longer the case."

To further back up his point, he cited the U.S.-Israel Free Trade Area agreement. "It's a unique situation," he said, describing it as the most far-reaching trade liberalization pact ever signed by the U.S. with a foreign country.

He singled out Secretary of State George Shultz for praise. "Life is made of images," Rosenne said. "I will always remember the Secretary of State participating in the Passover Seder at the U.S. Embassy in Moscow. It was an historic event. His very presence there was louder and stronger than a thousand speeches. There was a message to Soviet Jews - don't give up - and a message to the Soviet authorities as well."

Shultz, he added, is certainly "one of the most ardent supporters of the State of Israel. He has shown faith in Israel and I am convinced that his place is assured in Jewish history."

In general, Rosenne said: "Israel is more popular today than it was 20 years ago. No doubt about it."

Rosenne wound up his assignment on June 1. No successor has yet been named.

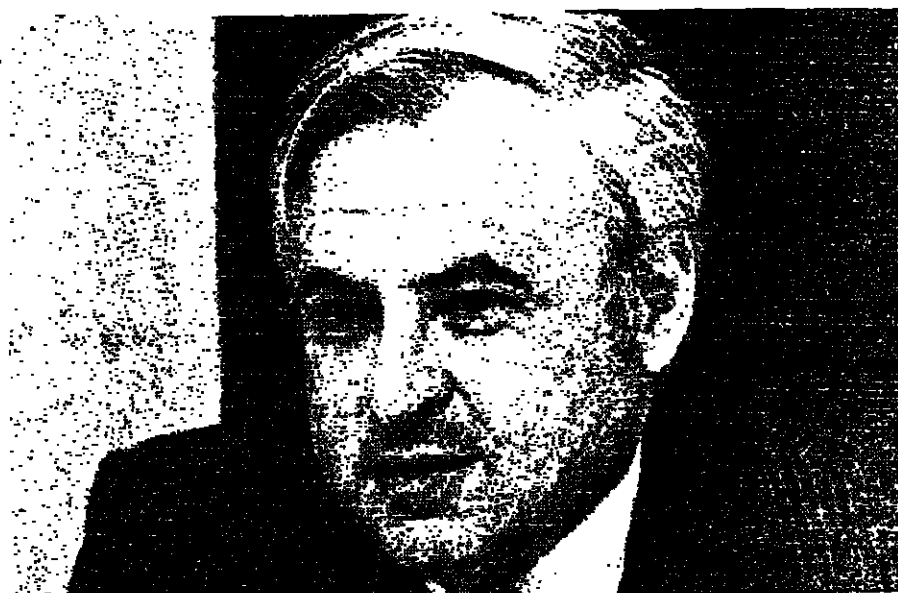
Oded Eran, the embassy's minister, will act as ambassador until Prime Minister Shamir and Foreign Minister Peres can agree on a suitable replacement.

In an interview with *The Jerusalem Post*, Rosenne conceded that the Pollard spy scandal had damaged the U.S.-Israeli relationship. But it has been contained. "Look at the facts," he said. "As soon as this was discovered, we apologized. There was unique cooperation between Israel and the U.S. It was the first time in the history of espionage that this kind of cooperation had taken place. Only at a later stage, some people in the Department of Justice claimed that Israel did not fully cooperate."

Rosenne flatly rejected the suspicions of some U.S. law enforcement authorities that Israel has other "Pollards" in Washington. "I am convinced that this is not true. The prime minister, the foreign minister, and the defence minister all denied the allegation."

"The Pollard affair was very serious," he continued. "It was a very serious blunder, a mistake. It should have never happened. It did create problems between the two countries. But I think it would be a mistake to let this affair harm the overall relations between our two countries."

Rosenne's greatest sense of achievement these past four years comes from his role in helping to convince the U.S. to undertake an emergency airlift to Israel of



Meir Rosenne... "I think that every Israel diplomat must remember every day that before being an Israeli he is a Jew." (Click 2,000)

Ethiopian Jewish refugees stranded in the Sudan following the collapse of the Israel rescue operation.

"I think this was a most satisfying chapter," he said. "It has not yet been described in detail. But I will never forget that when asked, the U.S. saved the lives of Ethiopian Jews."

He recalled his effort to get Vice President George Bush personally involved. "I went to see the Vice President of the U.S.," he said. "These were Ethiopian Jews, not American citizens. I know of no precedent in modern history when a country did what the U.S. did in this case - with the airlift. The debt of gratitude we owe to the U.S. is immense. Vice President Bush and I have never referred to it publicly up to now. But I think the Israeli public has a right to know about it."

During his visit to Israel last summer, Rosenne said, Bush had an opportunity to visit with some of those Ethiopian Jews.

"The moment you mention a political figure by name, you can be accused of interfering in domestic American politics," the ambassador said. But he still wanted to praise Bush. "I cannot help it. When I went to see him on a Saturday morning, I was moved. I don't intend to write memoirs so I don't take notes of everything. But I remember that meeting at the vice president's home."

Joining Bush were his national security adviser, Don Gregg, and then White House liaison to the Jewish community, Dr. Marshall Breger. Rosenne had

received instructions from Jerusalem. "I went to his house. The meeting lasted half an hour - that's all. I explained the problem that we faced at the time. It was before the change [of government] in the Sudan."

Bush intervened with the Sudanese and pushed to open the American airlift.

"There were many other opportunities to rejoice during my stay in the U.S.," Rosenne said. "Every meeting with Jews around the country was a source of joy. We get the impression that after 39 years of existence, Israel is a natural phenomenon. But whether it's in Los Angeles, Phoenix, San Diego, or Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, you find Jews and non-Jews who are friends of Israel. There is lots of love for Israel."

THE AMBASSADOR worked especially hard in strengthening ties with the American Jewish community. "I think that every Israel diplomat must remember every day that before being an Israeli, he is a Jew. I have absolutely no intention of going into politics and everything I say is very sincere. I believe it deeply. I am convinced that in spite of all the difficulties, *am yisrael hai*, [the people of Israel lives] is not merely propaganda. It is a fact of life."

"You should see to what extent people in the U.S. know what is going on in Israel," he added. "They are concerned."

Recalling his service at the New York consulate in the early 1960s, Rosenne said: "I remember at that time *Life* magazine published a long story about 'The

Vanishing Jew.' I don't know what happened to *Life* magazine. But I know that the Jew has not vanished at all."

Rosenne was also very proud of his efforts over the past three decades to promote the cause of Soviet Jewry. As a young diplomat in 1957, he was among the handful of Israeli officials working on this issue. "At that time we were trying to awaken public opinion to Soviet Jewry. Today this issue is a first priority on the agenda."

Having served as an important diplomatic channel to the Soviet ambassador in Washington over these past four years, Rosenne is basically gloomy about Moscow's role in the Middle East. "The role of the Soviet Union has been very negative until now. We can only hope and pray that we will see the day when the Israeli flag will be back in Moscow. When? I don't know. I really don't know. People are more pessimistic today than a year ago."

He sees the whole Soviet Jewry movement as an almost modern-day miracle. He noted that some 400,000 Jews have applied for exit visas. "After 70 years of a Soviet regime, no Jewish education to speak of, no organized Jewish community, each Jew fighting, struggling all by himself - after 70 years, they emerge speaking Hebrew fluently, like Natan Sharansky who was born the year the State of Israel was established. There are many Sharanskys around in the Soviet Union."

"I go back to Israel reassured that the solidarity between Israel and Jews in the U.S. is stronger than ever. No doubt about it. There is a lot of respect and admiration for Israel. We in Israel are too much involved in what's happening on a day-to-day basis, so we do not see the larger picture sometimes. But the American public and certainly the American political elite is very much aware of all the sacrifices that every Israeli citizen makes every day."

"Really, when the final history is finally written, all the so-called incidents - Pollard, Iran arms affair, etc. - these will be what is being built in Israel."

All Israeli diplomats, he said, must "love the Jewish people. This is undoubtedly the source of our strength. This has been my conviction for many years. I am more convinced of that today than I was in the past. When the chips are down, you can only rely on the Jewish people."

HE ALSO had high praise for American Jewish leaders. "These are extremely devoted people. To be involved in Jewish life

is certainly not a recipe for rest and an easy life. I always admire the love with which they work. They give up a lot - family life, their professional life."

"These are, mostly, Jews who are important in the American community. They don't need the Jewish 'hat' in order to be somebody. And I think that one of the reasons that the Jewish community in this country is held in such high esteem - by everyone - is due to the quality of leadership that they have."

But Rosenne does not believe that American Jews should speak out on matters of Israel's security. "I think that when it comes to Jewish philosophy, or a Jewish way of life, the Orthodox, Reform, and Conservative have the right to express an opinion. No doubt about that. But when it comes to the security of the State of Israel - how to protect our children or what the border of Israel should be - this can be left only to the Israelis who live in Israel. Go on aliyah and then you can participate in the life of Israel on these questions."

Rosenne plans to return in the Foreign Ministry upon his return to Jerusalem later this month.

"I have nine years to go before I reach the [65-year-old] retirement age," he said. "I belong to the Foreign Ministry. I have been in government service for the last 34 years - legal adviser, consul in New York, coordinator of the Atomic Energy Commission, ambassador to France, ambassador to the United States."

"I thank all those who have had faith in me. I intend to serve my country in the future. I am going back to the Foreign Ministry." Asked about a specific assignment, he replied: "I will hear about it when I get back."

Rosenne's tenure in Washington was marked by some serious diplomatic problems. He also had a triple bypass heart operation last summer. He recalled joking with his doctor: "Go ahead. I know the risks. I am the ambassador from Israel in Washington. I'm used to being bypassed every day."

But he served faithfully and professionally, winning the respect of many government officials, Congressmen and Senators, American Jewish leaders and average Americans. And on a serious note, he had this bit of advice for future Israeli diplomats: "When you represent Israel, remember, you not only represent the Jews who live in Israel today, you represent all the generations of Jews who did not live to see a Jewish state."

PUBLIC FACES/Mark Segal

Swords and pens

AS THE NATION celebrates the 20th anniversary of the Six Day War and the air is replete with names linked to that great victory, like then defence minister, the late Moshe Dayan, and then CGS Yitzhak Rabin, the debate rages on about its continuing legacy, as exemplified by the famous comment of the late French Jewish savant Raymond Aron about Israel having been the victim of an historical accident in 1967.

Friends of Moshe and Rachel Dayan are livid at what World Wizo president Raya Jaglom decries as "a bid to rewrite history" by her fellow WZO executive member, information head Uzi Narkiss, whose department film on the unification of Jerusalem was screened at the Sheraton Jerusalem Theatre. She claims it focuses on Narkiss's role as OC Central Command in 1967, but scarcely mentions Dayan.

IT IS also the fifth anniversary of the least celebrated of Israel's wars - that which began as the Peace for Galilee campaign and ended as the Lebanon conflict, universally associated with then defence minister Ariel Sharon and its most famous victim, then premier Menachem Begin, whom some now refer to as "the

prisoner of Rehov Zemach." It's doubtful whether even their harshest regard it as an occasion for rejoicing.

FANS of Vice Premier and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres can certainly point with pride to two current anniversaries marking the high points of his pre-rotation premiership - the pull-out from Lebanon and the launching of the economic recovery programme. However, even they must regret his having gone overboard in attacking, together with Defence Minister Rabin, Knesset Defence and Foreign Affairs Committee chairman Abba Eban, over his intelligence subcommittee's report on the Jonathan Pollard case. Some Labour Party veterans say he sounded just like the late Golda Meir chastising Shimon Peres in the old days.

Only a few days earlier, a Peres aide had phoned Eban after midnight to beseech him to produce an after-the-spot counter-argument to Dr. Henry Kissinger's assault on the international peace conference proposal, and persuade *The New York Times* to publish it.

Eban's party critics accuse him of having been too trusting with inquiry colleague, razor-sharp Herut

lawyer-MK Ehud Olmert, whom they accuse of being part of a Likud character assassination plot against Peres. However, another Herut inquiry member, MK Dr. Eliahu Ben-Eliassir, claims Eban's party comrades wrongly accuse him of having sided with the Likud, saying: "I know how much he did his best to protect his party's leaders, but I'd better not say too much in his favour, lest I harm him."

The Likud seems to be worried at Peres's inroads into its constituency. Thus midweek, after attending an official dinner in Jerusalem in honour of Honduras President Jose Azcona Hoyo, he took wife Sonya down to Tel Aviv to honour his promise to top-of-the-Oriental-pops Yemenite singer Nissim Gersheleh to attend his newest record launching party. They reached the hall just after midnight to a thunderous welcome and stayed until 2.30 a.m.

If Eban felt like quizzing politics after that drubbing, then the ensuing flood of supportive phone calls, telegrams and letters has changed his mind. Indeed it's now being said in Labour that the Pollard inquiry report may yet be his insurance policy for another Knesset term.

IT'S INTERESTING that so little



MOSHE DAYAN



YEHOSHUA ROTENSTREICH

attention has been paid to comments, especially in the Yehoshua Rotenstreich-Zvi Tsar report, on Defence Ministry ex-director-general Menachem (Mendy) Meron's "know nothing" role in the Pollard case. His two bosses, Rabin and Moshe Arens left everything to him, and - so it's claimed - he didn't stop ex-spy handler Rafi Eitan from overplaying his hand at the spooks' gambling table.

WHILE Likud Deputy Premier and Housing Minister David Levy was the sole inner cabinet member not to endorse the Pollard case report, Labour's Economics and Planning Minister Gad Ya'acobi refused to heed Shamir's urging - in the cabinet plenum - to accept the report sight unseen. He was later heard saying: "It reminds me of the scene from Ephraim Kishon's *Sallah Shabati*, when he's given a sealed envelope outside the polling booth. On asking: 'Which party is inside?' he's told: 'We're forbidden to tell you, it's a secret ballot.'"

PREMIER Shamir downplayed expectations of his forming a narrow government when addressing the Tel Aviv University's Jean Kirkpatrick

Forum for Public Leadership and Policy at a Tel Aviv Hilton Hotel dinner. After U.S. Labour Secretary William Brock declared: "America's well-being is directly linked to Israel's well-being," Shamir said: "We need such encouraging words. Israelis are depressed by the media." Later, in answer to Brock's question, he said that he favoured "some kind of electoral reform."

Forum board chairman Lya Meyerhoff, who established it in honour of the former U.S. ambassador to the UN, paid tribute to its executive director Dan Patir as "the most competent person I've met," with TAU Rector Prof. Yehuda Ben-Shaul adding some learned remarks.

There was a kind of mini-Camp David old hands reunion, what with Patir, who was at the Camp David talks as Begin's spokesman, there with Yehiel Kadishai - the ex-premier's long-time assistant, and ex-U.S. ambassador Samuel Lewis.

THE PREVIOUS night, Science and Development Minister Gideon Patt and his wife Ann held an al fresco dinner party at their elegant Savoyan mansion in honour of Brock and his wife, Sandy. The two ministers are well-acquainted from the

time they negotiated the Free Trade Area agreement. Brock as U.S. trade commissioner, Patt as trade and industry minister. Other ministers present: Peres, Yitzhak and Lea Rabin, Gad and Nela Ya'acobi, Moshe and Dvora Katsav, Moshe Arens, Ze'evulun and Menachemi Hammer (but none of Patt's fellow Liberals) and Knesset Social Services and Labour Committee chairman Ora Namir, plus Sam and Sallie Lewis.

MISHKENOT Sha'ananim was the site of a smashing supper party given by *New Republic* magazine publisher Martin Peretz and his wife Anne after the Jerusalem Symphony Orchestra's Sultan's Pool concert, starring cellist Yo Yo Ma, who came on a 36-hour flying visit.

To judge by the guests, Peretz maintained his transatlantic reputation as a bridge between politics, academics and the arts. His American friends included Judge Michael Posner, Jewish Agency governor Morton Mandel, actor Ken Howard, and Irving Kristol, plus such local friends as Hebrew University Chancellor Avraham Harman, MK Simcha Dinitz, Deputy CGS Aluf Ehud Barak in civvies, Shamir's media counsellor Avi Pazner, Peres's political counsellor Nimrod Novik, Israel Festival director Oded Kotler and JSO consultant Abe Cohen. Peres came in later together with Mayor Teddy Kollek, who'd just left the Betar celebration at the Harry Sacher Park.

REFERRING to his interest in Soviet Jewish rights, French Foreign Minister Jean-Bernard Raimond spoke of "our role in defending Jewish people" at the party given in his honour by French Ambassador Alain Pierret in the Jaffa residence garden. I heard there how two neo-fascist National Front deputies wangled their way into the Knesset. Ben-Eliassir told me he received an

introductory note purportedly from Jacques Soustelle, Israel's great friend. So he invited the duo into the MK's dining room, but on learning their real identity, he evicted himself and left. Coalition executive chairman Rafi Edri told me he bumped into them in the lobby, and shook their hands when told they were French parliamentarians.

ETERNALLY lovely movie goddess Lauren Bacall caused eyes to pop in disbelief at the cocktail party (or "attack of the locusts," judging by the way the guests pounced on the food), given by Tel Aviv Hilton Hotel GM Peter van der Vliet and his wife Tina, in honour of Bacall, Peter Ustinov, Hayley Mills, Carrie Fisher, David Soul and other members of the cast of *Appointment with Death* - a film based on an Agatha Christie whodunit and produced and directed by Michael Winner. (John Gielgud joins them next weekend.)

The former Mrs. Humphrey Bogart told me: "My name was Betty Persky until the age of eight." She said that she had heard that her father's cousin was Shimon Persky, today Shimon Peres. But Bacall and her famous Israeli relative have never met.

Ustinov, sporting a mustache, cut a huge cake in the shape of a 1930s luxury liner, which provides the set for most of the film. He lives up to his reputation. On arriving here via the Allenby Bridge, he was asked by a reporter: "What's your impression of Israel?" He replied: "You! He has little time to see the Jaffa site where his grandfather, a Russian prince, once lived."

The stars had the opportunity to meet local people. Bacall chatted with Hanna Marron, while Ustinov was cornered by TV talkshow emcee Meni Pe'er. Soul told Dan and Janice Gillerman of his first visit to Israel as a volunteer entertainer with the troops after the Yom Kippur War.

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Sunday, June 7: Opening Session
6:00 p.m. Chair: Shulamit Shahar (Tel Aviv)
Greetings
E. Shullin (Freiburg): "The Weimar Republic in Historical Writing, 1935-1985"

Monday, June 8: Inflation and Stabilization: Economic, Social and Political Consequences
9:00 a.m. Chair: W. Fischer (Berlin)
Participants: Gerald D. Feldman (Berkeley)
Haim Barkai (Jerusalem)
Harold James (Princeton)

3:00 p.m. Chair: Moshe Zimmermann (Jerusalem)
Participants: Heinz-Gerhard Haupt (Bremen/Lyon)
Michael Prinz (Bielefeld)

Tuesday, June 9: Weimar's Political Style
9:00 a.m. Chair: Omar Bartov (Tel Aviv)
Participants: Dan Diner (Tel Aviv/Essen)
Peter Fritzsche (Urbana, Illinois)

3:00 p.m. Chair: Robert Jütte (Haifa)
Participants: Maoz Azariahu (Tel Aviv)
George L. Mosse (Jerusalem/Madison, Wisconsin)

8:00 p.m. Tel Aviv Museum, Helena Rubinstein Pavilion
Opening of the Exhibition "George Grosz - the Berlin Years"

Wednesday, June 10: Jews in Weimar Society
9:00 a.m. Chair: Zvi Yavetz (Tel Aviv)
Participants: Jacob Toury (Tel Aviv)
Trude Maurer (Göttingen)
Steve Aschheim (Jerusalem)

3:00 p.m. Chair: Monika Richarz (Köln)
Discussion: The Place and Role of Antisemitism in Weimar Germany

8:00 p.m. Goethe Institute, 4 Weizmann St., Tel Aviv
Peter Jelavich (Austin, Texas): Political Cabaret during the Weimar Republic

Thursday, June 11: The Road to Dictatorship
9:00 a.m. Chair: Shulamit Volkov (Tel Aviv)
Hans Mommsen (Bochum): Social and Political Origins of the Hitler-Coalition and the National-Socialist Seizure of Power
Closing Discussion

5:00 p.m. Tel Aviv Museum, Kaufman Hall
Art in the Weimar Republic
Lectures on George Grosz and cinema in the Weimar Republic

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Druse of Beit Jann are in angry mood over land dispute

"WE HAVE the obligations of Jews, but only the rights of Arabs," declared a poster on an improvised barrier at the entrance to the Druse village of Beit Jann in Galilee.

The placard was one of many containing similar messages, plastered on the sides of a trailer which partially blocked the road. A group of residents, manning the barrier, flagged down and stopped all unidentified cars. They explained to outsiders that the barricade had been set up to prevent officials of the Nature Reserves Authority (NRA) from entering the village.

The incident occurred earlier this week during a visit to the picturesque mountain-top village by Moshe Arens, the minister responsible for Arab affairs. The road-block was not, however, designed merely to impress Arens and journalists covering the visit.

Rather, it symbolized the extent of the bitter land dispute between the Druse residents of Beit Jann and the NRA, which has lately developed into confrontation.

Last Friday some of the villagers set up stone barricades along tracks used by NRA patrols in the heart of the nearby Mount Meron nature sanctuary. They also uprooted trees and bushes on a plot of land two kilometres inside the reserve saying they were clearing the site for a soccer pitch.

Stone ramparts were erected round the site and bonfires lit on the cleared land.

NRA officials accuse the residents of deliberately destroying trees and bushes on protected land. The authority also charged that Druse residents threw stones at NRA personnel who tried to remove barricades from the tracks. The allegations are the subject of police inquiries and over 15 suspects have been questioned.

For its part, the NRA has increased patrols in the vicinity of Beit Jann. Extra police and border police are on duty in the region, and hikers visiting Mount Meron are not allowed near the disputed land "for their own safety."

The row centres on some 12,000 dunams, owned by the villagers, but which forms part of the Mount Meron nature sanctuary. The area is among the most scenic in Israel.

The residents are demanding control of all the land, for agriculture, housing development and public works projects, including a proposed new school and a sewage network.

The villagers have been staging a protest strike, which has shut down municipal services and kept 2,000 children out of school for nearly two months, to press their demands.

The Druse have always been noted for their attachment to the land. T. N. Arens, however, maintains that there is "an ecological treasure trove." There is rich variety of fauna and flora, which because of the height (over 1,000 metres above sea level) and the character of the



In quiet times.

(David Harris)

Village at the barricades

David Rudge

ahead with the development projects.

The remaining problems, especially the issue of releasing more land for agricultural purposes, could be resolved in stages through negotiations, he said.

The villagers, however, have rejected the development plan because they had no hand in its formulation. They also charged that the plan would ultimately create more problems than it would solve.

Arens tried with reasoned argument to persuade the villagers that confrontation, demonstrations and strikes, which caused more suffering to the perpetrators than the authorities, would not bring about the desired results.

But the mood of the villagers — sitting under army-style netting in the courtyard of the strike-hit local primary school and on the surrounding balconies — was against any form of compromise.

Several times during his speech, the minister was interrupted by irate listeners. "Where is the equality you promised us?" shouted one angry resident, referring to Arens's programme to give Druse and Circassians the same rights as Jews. The programme, cried the heckler, was approved by the government over a month ago, but nothing had changed.

Arens assured his audience that the equality programme would be implemented in full, although they could not expect the changes to come overnight.

He reminded the villagers of his successful efforts, during his term as defence minister at the height of the Lebanon War, to prevent confrontation between the IDF and Lebanese Druse.

"We managed to solve that problem, despite all the complexities. The land problem of Beit Jann is also complicated, but a solution will be found for the benefit of the residents, given goodwill and patience. With all my love and admiration for nature, people come first," Arens asserted, earning a round of applause from the crowd packed into the schoolyard.

The most enthusiastic clapping, however, was reserved for the rallying calls of various village leaders who, one after another, declared that the fight would continue until all their demands were met.

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More than 150 homes have been constructed outside the village limits and, as such, are classed as illegal buildings. These houses, erected without building or planning permission, are not connected to the electricity grid or telephone system. Water has been supplied from pipes used for irrigating fields.

Several of the owners have been fined on illegal-building charges and three have served prison terms.

"We have a war widow with 10 children who wanted to build a home for her family alongside the grave of her husband who died in the Lebanon War, but the work was stopped by the NRA," said Ibrahim Zuhied, who lost a son in the same war.

"It is heartbreaking and very distressing when people are penalised for building homes on their own land, especially in cases of bereaved families," said Zuhied.

The land, apart from being a potential source of income, is important to the villagers as a form of security and a legacy which is passed on from generation to generation.

Most of the breadwinners in the village, which has a population of nearly 7,000, earn a livelihood from serving in the security services, either the army, border police, the police or with the prisons authority. Others work in factories in the north or tending and harvesting the olive and various crops grown in the fields surrounding the village.

A resident, who gave his name as Samir and works in the prisons service, said he owned some land in the disputed region. "We need the land and we want the land, if only to be able to leave it as a legacy to our children," he said.

"We don't accept the development plan or any other compromise formulas that have been put forward so far because they do not solve all the problems. We want a solution now and for the future. We are fed up with empty promises."

The villagers are insisting on an amendment to the nature protection law that will allow the release of all the land in their ownership.

"We are not asking for the moon, only the right to use what is already ours," declared local council chairman Shafik Assad.

He maintained that the residents would take care that the region's eco-system would be harmed "as little as possible" if the disputed land were returned to their control.

"Our families were here long before the NRA was established and long before the area was declared a nature sanctuary. Besides, we have a vested interest in preserving the beauty of the area because we live here," he added.

The mountain-top village, with its narrow streets and stone houses, is indeed a picturesque sight. But, as Assad pointed out, people need breathing space as much as plants and animals.

The villagers have been given widespread support from the country's Druse community, who see the situation in Beit Jann as another example of what they describe as the government's discriminatory attitude towards a loyal minority.

Arens is now seeking ways to amend the nature protection law to ensure the release of most of the land to which Beit Jann residents claim ownership. He is due to meet with Premier Yitzhak Shamir and Agriculture Minister Arye Nehamkin to try to find a solution.

The villagers, meanwhile, are not content to rely on promises, and have threatened to intensify their strike action until the land is returned to their control.



KwaZulu Chief Minister Buthelezi, at a meeting in 'The Jerusalem Post' offices during a visit to Israel in 1985.

Zulu leader on how Israel can help Africans

ISRAEL CAN and should assist black South Africans in those fields in which it has great expertise, such as agriculture, housing and vocational training. This aid should be given not through the South African government but direct to the intended recipients.

This was stated recently by KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi at a working luncheon he and his cabinet gave this correspondent at the Legislative Assembly of the KwaZulu self-governing region of Natal province.

He saw no objection to assistance to and investments in the homelands of South Africa.

Inkosi Buthelezi (the title was adopted by the assembly at Ulundi just before the luncheon to replace "Chief," which is considered derogatory) spoke out against economic sanctions on the Pretoria regime, saying it harms mainly the black population. But he did say Israel and other concerned countries should bring diplomatic and moral pressure to bear to encourage talks between the government and the Blacks.

The chief minister and members of his cabinet ridiculed the demand of the banned African National Congress for majority rule "now, now, now," saying they have been demanding this for a quarter of a century "and have got absolutely nowhere."

Buthelezi insisted that the ANC leadership outside South Africa does not reflect the view of the masses it claims to speak for.

"We don't want to exchange one tyranny for another," the Zulu prince declared. "The ANC is training leadership cadres in the Soviet bloc while

N. D. Gross

they block attempts to raise black educational standards at home. We don't want to be led by such people."

Buthelezi declared his aim to be not black rule but power-sharing. The white community need not fear the black majority would seize control. "We do not want to seize power, but to share power."

Buthelezi is the prime mover behind the widely praised Natal Indaba, which secured an agreement between black, white, Indian and Asian representatives for joint rule in the province on local matters. The agreement has not yet won the approval of the S.A. President's Council, which rules on constitutional changes.

Analyzing the recent South African general elections, which saw a swing to the right, the KwaZulu chief minister did not think the results and the subsequent enforcement of the Group Areas Act would lead to violence. "Violence is there already," This, he said, is chiefly because young blacks have nothing to do and lack educational opportunities. Education, he said, was the prime need of his people. While the National Party government is indeed spending large sums on education, it sees it as an instrument in fulfilling its policy of separation or the communities.

As to the current threat of dispossession under the Group Areas Act (which prevents persons of other communities moving into areas declared open to members of one community only), he thought the government was cock-a-hoop over its election victory and was prepared to tell critics overseas to "go to hell." This, Buthelezi indicated, was a direct result of the sanctions policy.

As to the Jewish vote in the elections, which swung from the liberal Progressive Federal Party, to the Nationalists, he thought it was a result of the community's fear for its security. The chief minister said he understood this fear and appreciated that it had its roots in centuries of insecurity.

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A critical anniversary

Israel's failures in Lebanon were a result of contradictory aims as well as bad management. Daniel Gavron reports on a seminar held to mark the fifth anniversary of the Lebanon war.

THERE IS only one legitimate war aim for Israel, declared former Chief of General Staff Mordchai Gur this week, and that is survival. The Israel Defence Forces are responsible for defending the security of the nation and the people of Israel, he said. If the IDF is used for any other purpose it is liable to fail. In the Six Day War, the army succeeded in every mission; in Lebanon there were numerous occasions where targets were not met.

The former chief of general staff was speaking at a symposium of Tel Aviv University's Jaffee Institute for Strategic Studies, at which a number of speakers criticized the ineffective leadership and confusion in Israel's war aims in Lebanon. Gur, however, went further and suggested that there should not be any purpose in a war beyond that of defending the country.

"If we extend our aims beyond that, we are saying that it is legitimate to solve problems by force," he said. "The IDF was built to prevent war—not wage it."

Gur, who led the IDF during the Litani Operation of 1978, in which the terrorists were pushed beyond the Litani River, noted that the Lebanese population had proved themselves "at least passive friends" at that time. Israeli units moved more or less freely between the villages of South Lebanon.

There was no point in the more ambitious aims of the 1982 war, he said, because there were no "partners" in Lebanon, no authoritative central government with which to reach an agreement.

It was possible to reach an agreement with the Syrians, who in any case regarded Lebanon as part of Syria. The Syrians had never broken the 1974 Golan disengagement accord, he noted, but preconceived notions about unrelenting Syrian hostility prevented a serious effort to reach an agreement with them over Lebanon.

Gur recalled that most of the Israeli population supported the Lebanon war at the outset. He suggested that the evacuation of Yarnit and general disappointment with the nature of the peace with Egypt made the country receptive to the idea that the army could be used to impose peace with Lebanon.

The IDF, rebuilt after the Yom Kippur War, was capable of fighting a major war on two fronts, stated the former chief of general staff. It could have occupied Lebanon up to the Beirut-Damascus road in 36 hours. "Sharon and Rafel are both paratroopers," he said. "Both of them know how to air-lift troops. They could have done it easily."

ONE OF the commanders in the field, Aluf (Res.) Avigdor Ben-Gal, made it clear in his address at the symposium why this was not carried out. There were two plans, explained Ben-Gal, with aims that to some extent contradicted each other. The large-scale plan of Defence Minister Ariel Sharon called for destroying the terrorists in Beirut as well as in South Lebanon, expelling the Syrians, and installing a government in Beirut that would make peace with Israel.

The small-scale plan—the one actually approved by the government—simply called for pushing the terrorists out of range of the northern border. Pointing out that Syrian forces were positioned within artil-

lery range on the eastern front, Ben-Gal poured scorn on the plan to out-flank the Syrians in order to "persuade" them to leave without a fight.

"Experience has taught us that this does not work with the Syrians," declared the general. "If you want to get rid of them, you have to throw them out."

The IDF general staff did not function properly in the Lebanon war, charged Ben-Gal, but operated as an advisory panel to Sharon, who functioned as a "sort of super-chief of general staff." Sharon and former chief of general staff Rafael Eitan agreed to start the small-scale operation and go for the larger plan "in stages," but, whereas Sharon favoured attacking the Syrians and going into Beirut, Eitan was against both those ideas.

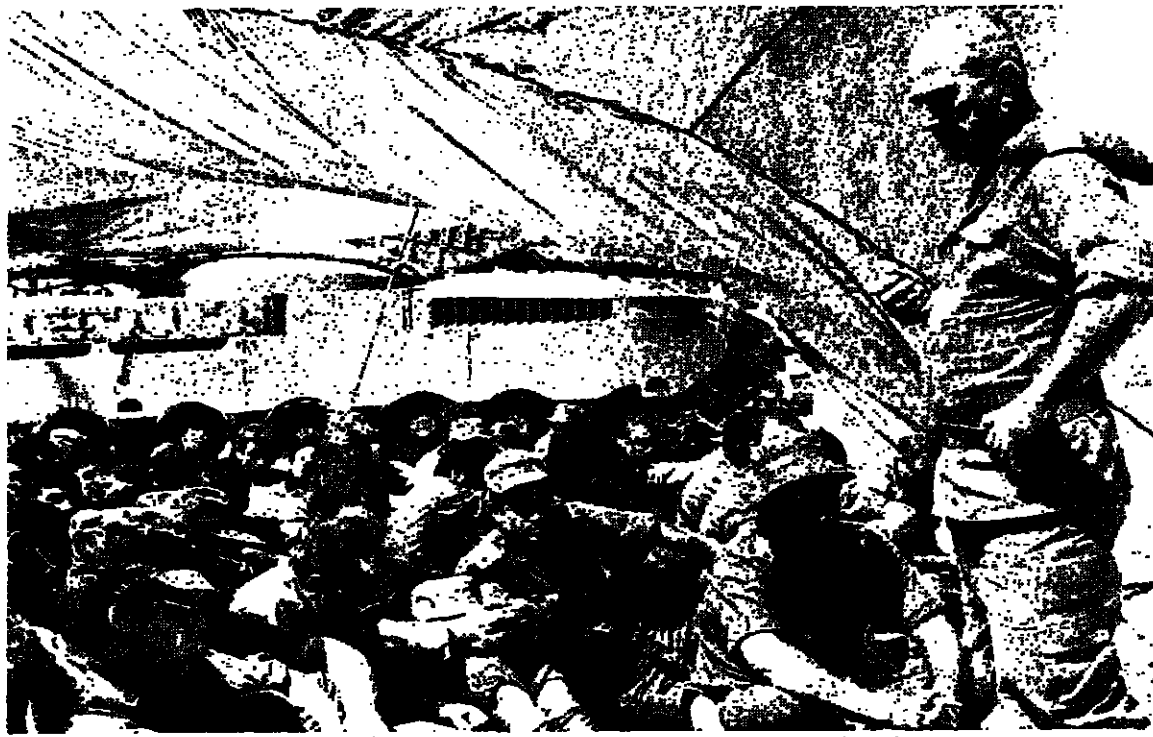
The defence minister made his decision, said Ben-Gal, but he did not win cabinet approval for it. As a result, field commanders were confused and lacked clear directives. The cabinet discussed what he called "micro-tactics," but never made up its mind about the overall purpose of the war.

The war's achievements, suggested Ben-Gal, were "a little more than those of the Litani Operation," but at a far greater cost. The "most



Ariel Sharon (above) and Rafael Eitan speak to troops in Lebanon.

(Defence Ministry)



(Ippa)



(Dan Lunden)



(Uzi Keren)

Conference participants and Lebanon war critics: Mordechai Gur and Yehuda Ben-Meir.

planned war in Israel's history" was a failure because of bad military and political leadership, he said.

Syria is the dominant factor in Lebanon," he concluded, "and you can't go into Lebanon without taking the Syrians into account."

In a brief intervention, Aluf (Res.) Amir Drori, who commanded the Northern Front during the war, insisted that his forces operated effectively when they were given clear orders. They could not move without authorization, he noted. In his view, the question considered by the political leadership at the time had not been whether or not to attack the Syrians, but whether the Syrian forces in Lebanon could be attacked, without provoking an all-out war with Syria.

AN INSIGHT into the political conduct of the war was provided by Yehuda Ben-Meir, who was deputy foreign minister at the time. Ben-Meir recalled that Prime Minister Menachem Begin had pledged at the start of the campaign: "This war will not be permitted to get out of control; it will be run by the entire cabinet."

He was sincere, said Ben-Meir, but he didn't realize that the cabinet had no mechanism for controlling the war. Begin failed to understand the workings of bureaucracy, he suggested, and did not perceive that officials (and generals) are loyal to those whom they represent.

Thus the chief of military intelligence was supposed to advise the government, but his first loyalty was to the army. "The prime minister used to tell him to speak freely," recalled Ben-Meir. "But the defence minister always huddled with him first. Of course, I don't know what passed between the two of them; but it is a reasonable assumption that the intelligence chief was being instructed by his minister."

Ben-Meir termed Begin a "lone wolf, with strong principles, who trusted his instincts." The former

prime minister made his own decisions, and took full responsibility for them; "but, with due respect, he did not know much about modern techniques of decision-making."

He was also extremely loyal to his ministers, and would not brook criticism of them. This put him at their mercy, said the former deputy foreign minister. At the cabinet discussion of the Sabra-Shatila murders, he had insisted that the whole cabinet must assume responsibility.

Begin had recalled, at that meeting, that he had not known in advance about the killings at Deir Yassin in 1948, but had accepted responsibility for them all the years.

Ben-Meir stated that the "kitchen cabinet" of Golda Meir had been "a step in the right direction," towards proper staff work, and that both Meir and her successor Yitzhak Rabin had established inter-ministerial committees and other advisory bodies in line with modern methods of government.

However, Begin, "the last of the founding generation," had returned the country to the sort of one-man rule exercised by David Ben-Gurion, Israel's first prime minister. "Despite their differences, they

were amazingly similar," he remarked.

Begin read a lot and had a phenomenal memory. In normal times, the system worked quite well; but, in time of war, there were incredible pressures and limitless demands on a prime minister's time.

There was a fundamental contradiction in the government's decision to go to war in 1982, he said. On the one hand, the IDF was ordered to put the terrorists out of artillery range, while it was also resolved not to attack Syrian positions unless the Syrians attacked first. As the Syrians were well within 40 kilometres of the border on the eastern front, "this could have meant putting the terrorists out of range of Nahariya, while leaving them within range of Kiryat Shmona."

In Ben-Meir's view, the Lebanon war would have turned out differently, had the prime minister possessed an independent staff of advisers. He noted that such a body still did not exist, despite the fact that the Agranat Commission, after the Yom Kippur War, had called for one, and concluded: "How long must we wait until a proper framework for decision-taking is established?"

Mysteries of the Nafsu case

Alan E. Shapiro

THE ROLE of the press in the Nafsu case is one of the odd elements in a case with many unexplained aspects. The Supreme Court never declared that Nafsu had been framed, which in common parlance means that he was the victim of a false charge. As many news stories reported, the court confirmed the conclusion of the Shin Bet itself that Nafsu's conviction rested on inadmissible evidence. "In the light of the said stand of the prosecution," declared the court's president, Justice Meir Shamgar, "we did not see room for the examination of the other evidence at the initiative of the court."

Only in one instance did the court take into account the "other evidence." According to the plea bargain that Nafsu had entered into with the prosecution, he pleaded guilty to having failed to report his two meetings with a senior terrorist commander. Since this confession contradicted Nafsu's statements before the military courts, the Supreme Court examined Nafsu to determine whether his present confession was the product of the pressure of his imprisonment. Nafsu himself confirmed the factual truth of the accusation. Moreover, the court continued, "we arrived at the conclusion that the appellant's description was consistent with the basic factual data, as brought before the (military) court." The necessary implication, according to Justice Shamgar, "The words of total denial of the appellant in the lower court were not truthful."

The court, therefore, convicted Nafsu, confirming the agreement of the parties on the basis of its own independent scrutiny. It renounced the previous, more serious convictions, solely on the basis of the plea bargain, declining to make its own independent assessment of the facts, but with at least the hint that there was other evidence. This, together with the admitted clandestine meetings with a senior terrorist commander ("It should be noted that the appellant also took no steps to arrest [him] or to neutralize him in another way, and his contenting himself with leaving the place is not the sort of reaction obligatory in these circumstances on the part of an IDF officer who is confronted with a senior terrorist.") could reasonably serve as the basis for weighty suspicions, to say the least.

This is not the sort of background that supports the charge of a frame-up, although it is unrelated to what the Shin Bet concluded on the basis of its own independent investigation and what the court confirmed—that Nafsu's "conviction, on the basis of his confession to the Shin Bet investigators, lacked legal foundation."

THE COURT made no charge of a frame-up. The charge appeared, not in the judgement of the court, but in the newspaper captions. Perhaps they were a product of a hurried reading of Shamgar's opinion, released to the press in the evening hours, with headlines approaching. Perhaps they were the result of preconceptions, formed in the weeks that the appeal was pending.

With this latter possibility in mind, attention should be directed to the marginal comment, at the end of Justice Shamgar's judgement, in which the court expresses its displeasure at the appearance of published material in the media while the case was pending which deviated from the legally permissible. "The lack of restraint in publications," the court notes, had within it the capacity to taint the necessary atmosphere for the doing of justice. The media, said the court, should desist.

Justice Shamgar has a well deserved reputation of support for freedom of the press. There is no other Supreme Court justice, past or present, who has so consistently supported press freedom, granting it a "preferred status" as regards conflicting social interests. Recently, sitting as a one-man court, he granted the press a qualified privilege to refuse to reveal sources of information. Earlier, he urged, unsuccessfully, that the press be protected from libel actions by public officials for good-faith errors of fact, in order that the press could freely and vigor-

ously perform its watch-dog functions.

Therefore, to find Justice Shamgar castigating publications in the media, as a threat to the proper functioning of the judicial process, is certainly worthy of attention. What publications drew his ire? The judgement of the court provides no clue.

However, while the appeal was pending, the papers were deluged with leaks from various sources. Many of them appear to have originated within the Shin Bet itself. It is a sound general rule that press leaks are a sure sign of divergent views within an organization, and there were indications in the conflicting press reports of rival groups within the Shin Bet, contesting for support. This would be consistent with the fact that the Shin Bet itself had come to a damaging conclusion with respect to the Nafsu affair that served as the basis for the plea bargain, which the court's judgement confirmed.

IT WOULD be unfortunate, however, if a strict application of the rules of *sub judice* were to restrict public debate on the important issues that the Nafsu case presents. The restrictions on the press that apply to judicial proceedings also apply to judicial commissions of investigation, as the majority in the Agranat commission after the Yom Kippur War pointed out. At the time of the appointment of the Kahan commission on the Beirut massacres, however, the late Justice Alfred Witkon, then in retirement, protested against an application of the rules of *sub judice* in a manner that would prevent debate on a public issue involved in a pending judicial investigation, noting that the law in Britain had been liberalized in this respect.

The great achievement of the Supreme Court in the Nafsu decision is in placing the highest priority on the elimination of unacceptable norms of conduct—the use of illegal methods of interrogation and lying about them in the court. Ultimately, this judicial victory can be consolidated only with the support of informed public opinion. With a judicial investigation an criminal proceedings against the Nafsu investigators in the offing, this no time to curtail proper public discussion in the media of the underlying issues.

It may be noted that the question of the conflict between the needs of security and the rule of law hardly a novel issue. It lies at the foundation of the adoption in Israel of the mandatory practice of administrative detention. Administrative detention was devised precisely to meet the problem of a passing security need to deprive an individual of his freedom, in the absence of admissible evidence that could meet the requirements of a court of law to justify a criminal conviction.

As revised in Israel in 1979, according to a law sponsored by then justice minister Shmuel Tamir in the first Begin government, administrative detention requires an order of the defence minister, thus satisfying the need for ministerial responsibility as well as speedy judicial review by the president of the district court, with the possibility of appeal to the Supreme Court. In this way, the integrity of the judicial process in ordinary criminal proceedings is preserved, obviating the need for revising basic rules of evidence in order to satisfy urgent security requirements.

Perhaps the most disturbing aspect of the Nafsu case, with regard to freedom of information in Israel, lies in the fact that the arrest, trial, and conviction of the Circassian officer remained a secret from the public for seven years. There is nothing in the judgement of the court that relates to this issue, nor are any facts divulged that would indicate a security need to keep the matter secret. The complete story of the Nafsu case remains to be told. There are hints in the court's judgement that it is more complex than the press reports on the decision indicated. Why what has now been revealed could not have been told much earlier remains a mystery.

The writer is a political scientist.

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Say it with love

The Torah portion read this week is Naso (Numbers 4:21-7:88).

ON FRIDAY July 18, 1986, The Jerusalem Post Magazine carried a story by Abraham Rabinovich about a precious new archaeological find: "Two cigarette-sized silver amulets uncovered in an ancient tomb opposite Mount Zion and deciphered only a few months ago, have brought us closer to the beginning of biblical text than we have been. The amulets contain a priestly benediction (Numbers 6: 24-26) that shows that at least some of the prayers of our ancestors 2,700 years ago remain our prayers today, virtually word for word."

We must add that although the words were found inscribed on what seemed to be a silver amulet, the ancient text, its context and usage over many centuries, make it clear that the benediction was not meant to serve as a magic formula that miraculously brings luck, nor were the priests who bestowed the blessing vested with supernatural powers. The priestly benediction was no more than a public prayer offered by the *kohanim* (descendants of Aaron) at the conclusion of the service in the sanctuary and as such did it survive in Jewish tradition and practice to this day.

The *kohen*, then as now, was not the source of the blessing. His task is to offer a prayer to God on behalf of Israel. Even now, as in the days of old, he removes his sandals (as those were never worn in the Temple), washes his hands and then raises them, covering them under the *talit* (prayer shawl), and repeats in a loud voice the words of the benediction, read by the prayer leader:

May the Lord bless you and keep you!
May the Lord make his face shine upon you and be gracious unto you! (In the new JPS translation this reads: "...deal kindly and graciously with you".)

May the Lord lift up his countenance upon you and give you peace! (In the new JPS: "...bestow his favour upon you and grant you peace".)

It is not the priest, but the Lord himself, who grants all those blessings. This is stated explicitly in the verse that follows the prescribed text of the benediction (ibid., 27): "So shall they (the priests) put my name upon the children of Israel, and I (the Lord) will bless them (both the priests and the Israelites)." This is to emphasize that God is the source of blessing, and not the priests, as in some religions. The *kohen*, or the parent who pronounces the same blessing over his children, does no more than offer a prayer, interceding with the Lord to bestow the blessing.

AS SUCH DID the priestly benediction enter into the daily morning liturgy and became part of its central prayer, the *Amida*. It is recited when there is a quorum of a *minyan*, i.e. at least ten worshippers, which form a miniature representation of the people of Israel. The prayer of a *minyan* is thus a re-enactment of the Temple worship and so is the recital of the priestly benediction which comes at the conclusion of the daily morning *amida* in the synagogue, as it did come at the conclusion of the daily *avoda* (worship) in the Temple. It is recited today by *kohanim*, members of families who claim the oldest existing pedigree in the world, as descendants of Aharon the high priest, and are found in almost every Jewish community throughout the world. (Their family name is usually, but not exclusively, Cohen. There are also many Kagens, Kaplans,

Katzes, Kanes, Rappaports etc. who are *kohanim*).

The benediction recited today by the *kohanim* must be preceded by the following *bracha* (traditional blessing formula) which declares the act as a commanded *mitzva*:

"Blessed are you Lord, king of the universe, who has sanctified us with the sanctity of Aaron, and commanded us to bless his people Israel with love."

Following the pronouncement of the benediction, the *kohanim* offer a personal prayer:

"Lord of the universe, we did as you decreed, you, too, fulfill your promise to us: 'Look down from heaven, your holy dwelling place, and bless your people Israel and the land you have given us... a land flowing with milk and honey'."

The wording of this personal supplication puzzled some rabbis. Why is the blessing of the children of Israel taken as a "decree," whose fulfillment is deserving of special mention? Is it really such a difficult thing to do?

From among the many explanations offered to help us understand the unusual wording of this prayer, I like two in particular. One is by the Gerer Rebbe (Rabbi of Gur), who explains why it was not easy for the *kohen* to perform his job. In his natural humility, he surely felt uneasy to stand over the people and bless them. He must have asked himself, why me? The answer is of course in the fact that he, the *kohen*, is not singled out to do the blessing because he excels more than the rest of the congregation, but simply because he was so commanded. If he were not under an explicit decree to do so, he would never consider himself worthy of being the one who blesses.

The other explanation, why the emphasis on the blessing as a "decree," is that suggested by my saintly father of blessed memory (himself a *kohen*). Tora commands the *kohanim*: "Thus you shall bless the Israelites, say unto them..." The text of the blessing that follows consists of 15 words, no more and no less. Commanded to bless his people, the *kohen* would not doubt wish to pour out his heart and employ the best of his creative eloquence in carrying out this noble task. But Tora specifically prescribes 15 words that he must say; they cannot be changed nor can anything be added to them. Indeed, what a hard "decree" for any one who is called upon to address a public gathering and express greetings in the ears of his captive audience!

IF THE CONCLUDING personal supplication of the *kohen* caused some wonderment, how much more problematic is the formal *bracha* by which the *kohanim* introduced the benediction. The problems in this text were caused by the appearance of one word at the end of the *bracha*: "...and commanded us to bless his people Israel (*b'ahava*) with love." Nowhere in Scripture does it say that the blessing which the *kohanim* are to confer on Israel must be conferred with love. How then did the early rabbis who composed the *bracha* add this to the description of the "commandment"? As a rule, we know that the formal text of a *bracha* must not include anything besides the specific requirement of the commandment about to be introduced.

The addition of the word *b'ahava* to the formal wording of the *bracha* preceding the "priestly benediction" prompted the discovery of deeper psychological insights in the understanding of the dynamics of interpersonal relations within the community, as well as into the personality of the individual who is entrusted with leadership.

A blessing which encompasses the continued preservation of a community and its values ("bless you and keep you") and aims at radiating light and grace as well as securing peace—can be fulfilled only when it is granted wholeheartedly, devoid of any selfish vested interest of the one who offers it. If the benediction of the priests is to work, they must be ready to bestow it *b'ahava*, in selfless love. Love thus becomes a *sine qua non* for blessing.

The rabbis went even further in their consideration of love as a vital prerequisite of blessing and ruled that a *kohen* who, for some reason, hates his community or some of its members, or is hated by them, is not allowed to pronounce the benediction and must leave the synagogue at the point in the service when the benediction is pronounced.

Another requirement for blessing the people is that it must be done joyfully and not with a long face. Someone who is himself distressed and depressed is incapable of sharing blessings with others, even if he honestly wishes to do so. That is why nowadays the priestly benediction is pronounced daily only in the land of Israel and not in the Diaspora where it is said on festivals only. Rabbi Moshe Isserles (the Rama, 1520-1572), explains that it is utterly impossible for Jews to be joyfully disposed in the Diaspora, even on the Sabbath.

The question is also raised in halachic literature, whether a bachelor *kohen* who has not learned how to share life with a spouse, is psychologically qualified to offer blessings to others.

These psychological explanations notwithstanding, the quest continued for some textual proof for the addition of the element of love. It produces an endless array of speculative suggestions (see Yehuda Nahshoni's *Hagut B'parshiyot Haora*, vol. 1, p. 162). I would like to quote here two such "proofs."

Both of which I heard directly from the people who suggested them and so far have not found them in print.

I heard one from the well-known Jerusalem scholar and educator Rabbi Dr. Yerachmiel Bergman. He makes the innovative suggestion that the word *b'ahava* does not refer to the *kohen* who was commanded to bless, but to God who issued the command. The *bracha* should therefore be read in the following way: "Blessed are you... who has sanctified us... and commanded us (*b'ahava*, in His love) to bless his people Israel." The blessing of Israel stems from God's love of his people, as it says elsewhere (Deuteronomy 7:13): "He will love you and bless you."

A thoroughly different explanation I heard from the late venerable chief justice of the Sephardic rabbinical court in Jerusalem, Rabbi Ezekiah Shabat: Where were we commanded to bless Israel with love? In the Tora that states (Numbers 6:22): "The Lord said to Moses, tell Aaron and his sons, this is how you are to bless the Israelites. Say to them" (in Hebrew: *emor lahem...*) "Emor lahem," said Rabbi Shabat, "sounds just like *amour lahem*. Amour in French means: love..." "Emor, (amour) lahem"—when you are about to give them the benediction, you must love them first.

TORA TODAY

Pinhas H. Peli

The Friday plenty that many must miss

FROM TIME TO time I have complained on behalf of Orthodox viewers that they never get a chance to see the good films that are occasionally shown to us on the Sabbath and festivals. These comments resulted in my getting a letter from an Emily Osterreicher, from the Tiferet Banim golden age home of the Hapoel Hamizrachi organization in Netanya, urging me to use the influence which she incorrectly supposes I have with Television House, to stop the showing of films entirely on Friday nights, so as to keep these nights holy.

This suggested solution reminds me of H. L. Mencken's comment on Franklin D. Roosevelt's agricultural policy in the Thirties: Mencken claimed that Roosevelt solved the paradox of starvation in the midst of plenty by destroying the plenty. While I am prepared to go to considerable lengths to help the Orthodox to enjoy their films, I do not see how their pleasure will be augmented by depriving other people of their fun.

I am still worried, nevertheless, about their missing good shows through no fault of their own. This week I realized that the problem arises, not only with regard to films, but also with regard to the Meni Pe'er and Rivka Michaeli entertainments, and the Friday night magazine. And there are also programs like the Salute to Teddy that was shown on Shavuot night.

The outstanding item on the Meni Pe'er show was Tuvya Tsafir's wonderful take-off of MK Avraham Shapira and Minister Yitzhak Peretz singing their version of the *Idlers' Song*, that continues to be the rage in Israel, despite its failure to win the Eurovision contest. (When the Betar Jerusalem soccer players arrived at conquering heroes at Jerusalem's Sacher Park last Saturday night, they were greeted with cries of "Hoopa, hula, Betar!")

Tsafir's take-off of the two omnipotent Orthodox politicians was almost uncanny. He not only looked like them, he was them. The choice of the song was perfect, as were the words of Tsafir's version—the two gentlemen need only to stay idly at home to twist the country round their little fingers, as Likud and Labour leaders come running to them morning and evening. They have every reason to sing "Hoopa, hula!" in unison.

Apart from it being so funny, Tsafir's song was of particular interest for Orthodox viewers: it is a



Lament of the soccer fans... Herut chairman in Jerusalem, Ruby Rivlin, and Labour's secretary-general, Uzi Baram on the "Salute to Teddy" show.

great pity that they were denied a chance to see it. Datner and Kushnir's song was parodied again on Shavuot in the Salute to Teddy. This time the singers were Ruby Rivlin, the Herut chairman in Jerusalem and his party's hope for the mayoralty, and Uzi Baram, secretary-general of the Labour Party. They were well made up, in an impressionistic sort of way, to resemble Datner and Kushnir, and they sang very creditably indeed.

Both of them are fanatical soccer lovers and their version of the song expressed the dissatisfaction of sportsmen about Teddy's "idling" in getting us our stadium. Teddy, like Queen Victoria, was not amused. He has long felt that he is fighting almost single-handedly against the zealot hordes on the stadium issue, and has appealed time and again for support. He did not spell it out on Tuesday, because of the nature of the occasion, but he might have reflected that, if Rivlin and Baram were to organize a joint and well-publicized demonstration by both major parties, they would get a turnout of many thousands in Jerusalem. If Likud and Labour were to unite on the issue they might even get a government decision.

Here was another item the Orthodox should have seen. The Salute to Teddy was not an in-thing for the secular, but something for all the citizens of the capital—indeed, of the country.

It would surely be worth while for Television House to go through these Friday night entertainments once a week and to cull a selection of items to be shown on Saturday nights for the Orthodox, perhaps condensed into a 15-minute addition to the religious programme. The secular among us would be delighted to prove how tolerant we are by laughing at Tsafir or Shlomo Nitzan repeated two nights in a row.

This would not solve the basic problem of the Orthodox missing terrific films like Tuesday night's *Airplane*, but it would be a step in the right direction. Of course, we would be glad to see *Airplane* repeated for them on less holy nights.

THE SALUTE to Teddy was uneven, but it contained several good things, apart from the song by Rivlin

and Baram. There was a very amusing story about Teddy, as treasurer of kibbutz Ein Gev in the Thirties, issuing a stern order to his fellow-members that, because of the economic crunch, nobody should become pregnant for six months. Teddy proposed, but Nature disposed. While a resolution to this effect was apparently passed unanimously at the general meeting, Nature in its usual manner, overruled it. We saw the result in a lovely children's choir, at which Teddy beamed sentimentally.

There were the usual speeches and anecdotes by the great and near great, although I was rather surprised that the producers did not manage to get a single Arab to say a good word for Teddy. Well, Teddy himself quipped once that while the Arabs of Jerusalem also want a united city, they want a change in the management, so it was perhaps too much to expect one of them to speak up for a man who has done his best for them.

There were two very funny items one a great take-off by Rivka Michaeli of a Marlene Dietrich song and the other a song by Shlomo

you for flying with us." But I could go on and on. Really, this film has to be shown again for those who missed it—and those who saw it.

One of the actors who performed very professionally was the Los Angeles Lakers' basketball star, Kareem Abdul-Jabbar. Having denied his real-life identity and insisted that he was Shadrach the co-pilot, he reacted to criticism of his play with the speed and ferocity he shows on the court—and that I as a Celtics supporter, hope he will not display in the finals of the play-offs.

WE SPORTS fans must be very grateful to Television House, and to the consultants who sometimes stage strikes at crucial moments in sporting events, for bringing us the final of the Eastern play-offs between Boston and Detroit and for playing it through right to the end. When we were brought the All-Stars game some time ago, I was severely criticized for writing that it was terrible. The clashing between Celtics and the Pistons showed how right I was, and how different a real competition is from a mere exhibition.

We have two serials running which are presumably secret advertisements for Tambour paints. *The Fifth Missile* and *Dynasty*. In both these shows American paint is the villain in the sketches. In the submarine show it drives almost the entire crew nuts, while in *Dynasty* it is being used by Adam in a diabolical plot to kill off Jeff by means of the paint used by Adam to repaint Jeff's office. So, as I have indicated, we should support Israel products.

Adam began his career as a rather pleasant young attorney in Montana, who was very kind and loving to his supposed grandma, but he has changed into a fiend in human shape, even worse than J. R. of Dallas. Apart from trying to kill Jeff, he wants to ruin Blake and to seduce the butler's daughter. He is clearly Alex's son.

I do not think that I will be sorry to see *The Fifth Missile* go off: it is such a constant reminder of how idiotic political and military leaders of a democracy can be.

Clemenceau said that war was such an important business that it should not be left to the generals. Or to the politicians either, I'm afraid.

TELEREVIEW

Philip Gillon

Nitzan, supported by pictures, about Teddy's great love for classical music, which he shows by concentrating on the music with such intensity that he keeps his eyes tightly closed to prevent any extraneous factor distracting him.

I suspect that we shall have to wait many a long month before we get another film as funny as *Airplane*. Although it moved at the speed of a Concorde, it somehow managed to introduce some of the best verbal and visual wisecracks we have ever had on film. For instance, there was the very respectable woman translating jive talk for one stewardess, and the other stewardess shocking the doctor by blowing up the automatic pilot. Then there were the stewardesses saying with brilliant smiles to the disembarking passengers as they descended by means of the emergency chute, "Have a nice day. Thank

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BAPTIST VILLAGE CONGREGATION, 2 km. north of PETAH TIKVA. Saturday Service, Bible study 9:30 a.m. Worship 10:30 a.m. Tel. 052-77517.

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JERUSALEM

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UJA INFORMATION CENTRE, 1 Ibn Gabirol St., Rehavia, Jerusalem. Features TV news programmes from the U.S., continual A.P. News teletext, videotapes on UJA United Jewish Appeal sponsored programmes in Israel. Open Sunday-Thursday, 3:00-7:00 p.m. For more information call 02-246807, 02-240795.

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Private problems

The basic idea behind privatizing government corporations is that public ownership breeds cumbersome and inefficient management, whereas private ownership is efficient and rational. But *The Jerusalem Post's* Economic Reporter Avi Temkin argues that privatization does not put an end to government intervention.

EVER SINCE he was appointed finance minister, Moshe Nissim has made no secret of his desire to see as many government corporations as possible sold to the private sector.

Unlike most of his predecessors, Nissim seems to be sincerely interested in pushing ahead with a comprehensive privatization plan. Moreover, a large part of the Labour Party leadership is now apparently as keen as Nissim in the privatization process. Under such circumstances there is a real possibility that the country will embark on privatization very soon, without fully appreciating what this entails.

Britain probably provides the most instructive example for an examination of the privatization process. In some respects, the sale of government corporations in Britain has become one of the central issues in the political and economic programme associated with the name of Margaret Thatcher. Indeed, there is a clear missionary note in the way British businessmen and government officials explain privatization to foreigners. The commodity they're selling is the capitalist response to the welfare state.

British officials take great pride in their privatization process. In recent years, some 12 major companies have been transferred from public to private ownership, mainly by selling shares on the stock exchange. In the process some 800,000 workers have moved from the public to the private sector and, according to the government, Britain has come much closer to the Thatcher vision of a shareholding society.

In fact, London has become a Mecca for would-be privatizers, pouring in from all over the world to take a closer look at the British experience. Israel's economics minister, Gad Ya'acobi, was among those converted to the privatizing creed.

Unfortunately, Ya'acobi and Nissim seem to be adopting the dogma of British privatization uncritically. Apparently, they are not aware of the possible shortcomings, and they could be launching the country on a costly and dangerous path, for lack of proper judgment.

THE BASIC idea behind the privatization proposals is that public ownership breeds cumbersome and inefficient management, whereas private ownership is efficient and rational. A case in point is British Airways, once a bankrupt company owned by the government, and now a private and profitable enterprise.

This equation between public and inefficient, and private and efficient, needs closer scrutiny before judgment can be passed on privatization. There is no natural link between the type of ownership and the efficiency of a company. In fact, the Israel experience in this respect is mixed.

One can find government-owned corporations which have been profitable and fairly well managed, like Israel Chemicals; as well as private firms that were almost run into the ground because of mismanagement, like Elscint. The equation is thus less than accurate.

For some years now, experts all over the world have pointed to a clear division between management and ownership that has emerged in the modern world. Some years ago there was even talk of a new "class," that of managerial executives. The intellectual fashion held that it made little difference to this new type of manager whom he worked for, and what sort of company he was managing. This was of course an exaggeration, but it contained a grain of truth. The function of management can be logically separated from ownership, and professional management can be found in various types of enterprises. A manager is just as accountable to shareholders as to any other owner. It all depends on whether the principle is implemented.

Israeli government corporations are required by law to act primarily out of commercial considerations, and this has given some of these firms ample scope for profitable operations. Moreover, Israel's unique experience is that of a labour federation which owns industrial, financial and commercial firms. Again, one can find in Hevrat Ha'ovdim examples of both good and bad management. Type of ownership cannot therefore be a criterion for quality of management.

Profits depend on a score of factors. For private as well as public enterprises, demand is determined by the state of the economy. Costs are affected by nationally-agreed wages and the price of raw materials. In both sectors, decisions must be taken in a world of uncertainty. And the consequences of these decisions become apparent only over time. Accountability to owners serves as a punishment for past errors. It does not prevent future ones.

INTERESTINGLY enough, for years economists were taught that a company's efficiency depended not so much on the type of ownership, but on the type of firm. Monopolies and oligopolies were thought to be less efficient than competitive firms. In many cases, state intervention was called for to offset some of the negative effects of monopolies, such as low production or high prices. Utilities which are a natural monopoly have thus often come under state ownership, although government ownership is an extreme form of intervention.

Going back to the British example, almost all of the companies which have been made private were monopolies, or at least companies with a large share of the market. One does not have to be a confirmed socialist to know that sooner or later, under such circumstances, the government is going to intervene. In fact, it is highly plausible that any Israeli government would very soon find itself trying to control the prices of such a corporation, and thus interfere in its cost structure. The government would also find itself trying to direct the investment strategies of these companies, in an effort to influence both the volume and geographical distribution of the investments.

Even in the British experience, the case for government interven-



Moshe Nissim has made no secret of his desire to follow Margaret Thatcher's privatization programme. (Brian Hender)



tion is evident. British Airways was privatized some months ago. So far its management is very happy with the way things are going. But the British government is planning to privatize also the airports authority, and this BA does not like at all. BA fears that a private authority would charge higher prices for its services.

Assuming that the authority will eventually be private, the British government will have little choice but to try to bring the two companies to an agreement. If this proves impossible, it will be forced to directly regulate the relations between the two monopolies.

It is thus most simplistic to say that privatization puts an end to government intervention. It does not. What could happen is that the government would intervene, but the fruits of its intervention - in other words, the profits accruing to the monopolies - would go to private hands.

THERE is yet another aspect of potential government intervention in private companies, one that follows directly from the Israeli experience. Any government corporation being privatized is told that from now on it's on its own.

As long as profits accrue at a satisfactory pace, everybody takes pride in the new situation. But what happens if the company runs into trouble? It would be more than naive to expect the government not to intervene in such a situation to bail

out the company: involved here is the potential loss of many jobs, and possibly the future of a monopoly supplying an essential service. In any economy the government remains the natural "lender of last resort," one which must be approached when the economy takes the wrong path, something it usually does.

Such rescue operations are generally financed with tax-payers' money. They usually imply government intervention in imposing recovery plans for the ailing firms, which would mean that the government would be pushed into obtaining an intimate knowledge of the way the firm was and is managed, and in demanding a voice in the decision-making process. If this scenario materializes, it will mean that only profits are privatized, while risks and losses are as socialized as ever.

Governments can, of course, try to prevent this situation. The obvious measure is to take good care that enough profits are generated by the new firms to avoid a potential crisis. But this too has its dangers. Israeli experience has shown that the best way to assure firms of a minimum profitability is to establish a "cost-plus" pricing strategy, marking up prices over costs. But this not only eliminates the incentive for efficiency, it also spells growing government intervention in the decision-making of the company.

Don't hang up

Laughing it off/Helga Dudman

PROMULGATORS OF the second telephone channel are optimistic about public reactions to the new plan. Said one of them: "The old, monopolistic facility simply doesn't offer modern users the variety of choice demanded by today's consumers."

Moreover, since many conversations will be imported (with simultaneous translation, and plugged painlessly and spontaneously into the user's mechanism) the healthy competition with local conversations is expected to raise standards here.

The usually well-informed promulgator was anxious to add some more, but was interrupted by an observer lurking nearby. "It was maybe a step in the right direction when the old arrangement changed its name to Bezeq and became a public corporation, and plenty of people do have those new phones with funny buttons," said the observer. "But this is still a far cry from a many-faceted structure for alternative telephone experiences," he added.

The second channel, it is pointed out, will be income-producing in that advertising "spots" will be sold. These will be devised and recorded by our best creative minds to be heard at intervals during conversations. "They should provide a welcome diversion from the boring, aggressive, wrong-number, or otherwise distressing elements often associated with present telephonic intercourse," it was stated.

Such a step is in line with the world-wide trend toward "privatization," and represents a rational utilization of what is in effect already a multi-station system. "Because, for instance," said the observer, "we already have a one-way-only experience, which provides the client with incoming calls only, or if he prefers, exclusive outgoing ones." The teenage station is also already available to concerned parents, and is always busy. Under the new technology it would carry, in addition, loud, carefully chosen post-pop music.

Also currently available, although still unutilized, is the crossed-lines-with-another-conversation station. This is actually a culturally wholesome phenomenon, said one minister (whose conversations often cross the line of a converser in Hadera) because "when we hear the unutterably fatuous exchanges of other people when we're not supposed to be listening, it makes our own dialogue seem, by comparison, positively *sporti-eleganti*."



(Shaul Rabanin)

THE EFFECTS of healthy competition are illuminated by the American experience. For years and years, all telephone services in the United States - all those billions of calls daily - were provided by one huge mother corporation, the AT & T, called affectionately "Ma Bell." Service was marvellous. Recently, the government decided that this was a case of unhealthy monopoly; Ma Bell was dismembered and competitors sprang up.

As a result, there are all sorts of new ads for bright new phone companies on the many-channelled TV over there. But the Americans - believe it or not - complain that service has declined and prices are up. Of course, perhaps service is down and prices are up on everything; and perhaps conservative Ma Bell wasn't quick enough into all the new tech improvements, such as putting you on "hold" with background music, which is what everybody had been secretly dreaming of for decades.

Indications are rife that the public here is ready for this innovation. If proof be needed, there are all those car radios booming away in empty cars parked illegally. Mention might also be made of the walkie-talkies used by all the kids in the neighbourhood. They hold the gadget and scream to their co-conversationalists two flights down. "Can you hear me?" One can; they have nothing to say to each other.

Home away from home



An Israeli sports trivia question: when Betar Jerusalem travelled to Tel Aviv to play Hapoel Tel Aviv in Tel Aviv, which was the home team? (Hint: it wasn't Hapoel Tel Aviv). If you were stumped on that one, here's another: with the amazing Bnei Yehuda team waiting until the final game of the season before registering its first defeat, who is the runaway National League champion? The answers are: (1) Betar Jerusalem, and (2) Betar Jerusalem.

Jerusalem, the city without a stadium, and its residents, the fans without a team, rolled out the red carpet for Betar, the team with no home, after their first championship was clinched in an away game on their "home" field (in Tel Aviv), a month before the season ended. They finished so far ahead of second place that near-unbeatable runner-up Bnei Yehuda ended up closer to 11th place than first. Betar had moved from its former stadium at the Jerusalem YMCA which was deemed unsuitable, though suitable enough for the capital's Second Division team, whose own former home field is even worse. Hapoel Jerusalem narrowly missed promotion to the National League avoiding even more confusion next season for Betar Jerusalem, which would have had to leave their Tel Aviv home field to play Hapoel away at home in Jerusalem, and then host their cross-town rivals at home away in Tel Aviv.

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For further information, please write to -
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Clutch of share issues being readied

A stream of new share issues is being readied to take advantage of the positive market conditions on the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange. The coming weeks should see activity in the primary market of new issues increase to its highest level in several years.

The companies issuing shares include some that are already traded, while others are first-time issuers. Among the latter, several companies are joining the newly established "parallel list." This is designed for smaller companies whose shares represent a higher degree of risk and do not meet the more stringent requirements of the main market.

Two such companies made share issues yesterday: Tevel Import Export Services Ltd., which made a regular issue offering 240,000 shares at NIS 5 (an opening price of 500 per cent) each, and Reshef Computers Ltd., a Beersheba-based company which made a tender offer for 206,000 shares at a minimum price of NIS 8.40 (840 per cent) each, with a separate offer to employees of 17,000 shares at NIS 5.90 (590 per cent) apiece.

The small size of these issues, at NIS 1 million-2m. each, is typical of the majority of new issues so far this year. In the first four months of 1987, shares, warrants and convertible bonds worth \$49.1m. (NIS 77.4m.) were issued, over three times the dollar amount in the same period of 1986. This amount came from no less than 17 different issues, giving an average of less than \$3m., or NIS 4.5m., per issue.

Among the preliminary prospectuses announced, but not yet published, are those from Clal Industries Ltd. and Discount Investments Corp., which are seeking much larger sums.

On the immediate agenda, however, are three smallish issues to be made next week: Zikil Dyeing Works Ltd., which has been trading for several years on the main market, is looking for at least NIS 4.95m. on Sunday, via a public tender offer. This will be for 45,000 units comprising one share and two warrants each. Each share will have a nominal value of NIS 5 at a price of NIS 90. Two series B warrants, priced at NIS 10 each, will bring the minimum price per unit in the tender to NIS 110.

The shares are being sold at an equivalent of 1,800 per cent for each NIS 1 of nominal value, compared with the June 1 market price of 2,000 per cent. The warrants are exercisable between this July 1 and July 1, 1989, on payment of NIS 18 per warrant, dollar-linked. This means that the warrant must be valued by discounting the additional NIS 18 over two years. This can be done either in nominal shekel terms, by using average expected rate of un-

linked shekel interest, or in dollar terms, by using the expected rate of devaluation and the expected dollar rate of interest over the next two years.

Zikil's sales and profits have been rising sharply over the last three years. The company intends to use the money from the issue mainly to expand its product facilities, which is currently the main bottleneck preventing increased output. This will be done either by purchasing an existing building - negotiations are at an advanced stage already - or by using the company's land to build one. The additional funds, to be received from the exercise of the warrants, is earmarked for working capital.

Alkol Ltd., whose shares go ex-rights on June 8, is in a very different position. The company produces specialized materials for the building industry and has been losing money for years, so that it is now teetering on the brink. The rights issue, which is looking to raise NIS 1.5m., is part of a much larger rescue plan totalling almost NIS 8m.

If the plan is not carried through, say the company's accountants in a brutal warning carried prominently on the front cover of the prospectus, Alkol will not be able to continue as a going concern and "shareholders will lose their investment."

Those with a stomach for this level of risk may note that the share's price on June 1 was 586 per cent, while the rights issue offers one new share at a price of 193 per cent and four warrants free against each existing share. The warrants are exercisable until July 9, 1990, and the exercise price will be NIS 1.93 (193 per cent), unlinked until the end of May 1988, and thereafter linked to the dollar at the rate of 1.5828.

In practice, this suggests that if the rescue plan makes progress, the warrants may be exercised as soon as next year. In any event, the dilution of the current share price is dramatic, extending to five new shares for each current one, at a price one-third the current level.

The families who have owned and run Alkol are being bought out and have in fact agreed to transfer their rights without charge to the new shareholders, on condition that the latter exercise the rights offered under the new issue. The company's external directors resigned some time ago, the accountants have been changed twice in the last five years and the company is looking for a professional managing director.

Would-be shareholders would be well advised to read the prospectus thoroughly to acquaint themselves with the company's background and record before putting money into what is plainly a very high-risk undertaking. The attraction, of course, is that if the rescue plan

succeeds, the subsequent profits could be spectacular. Chrysler, however, are few and far between, and Alkol has not yet found its Lee Iacocca.

Eagle Military Gear Overseas Ltd. is on firmer ground. The company is making a public tender offer of convertible bonds and warrants just under NIS 2.7m., with an additional small offer to employees. The tender will take place this Tuesday, and the minimum price for each of the 298,414 units will be NIS 9.



The unit is comprised of NIS 6 nominal value of 10 per cent convertible bonds, and NIS 3 nominal value (n.v.) of warrants, with the offer price being 100 per cent - at least.

The capital and interest on the bonds are linked to the basket of currencies, based on the rate of May 27. The bonds may be converted into Eagle 5 shares at a price of 250 per cent, on the basis of NIS 2.5 n.v. of bonds for each NIS 1 n.v. of shares. They may be converted from next August 1 to May 26, 1994, while the bonds will be redeemed in three annual payments, beginning in May 1992.

The warrants being issued with the bonds are even more complex. They are exercisable from this August 1 to November 30, 1989, such that each warrant can purchase NIS 0.5 n.v. of the Eagle 1 shares, and NIS 0.5 n.v.

of the Eagle 5 shares. The exercise price is NIS 1.3 per warrant, and this is linked to the dollar rate of May 27. The prices of the Eagle shares on June 1 were 733 for the NIS 0.001 and 337 for the NIS 0.005 shares.

The prospectus notes that, based on the minimum prices of the tender, and after capitalization of the exercise price, and assuming immediate conversion of all the bonds, the effective price of the company's shares is 226 per cent, which was over 40 per cent below the market price when the prospectus was issued in late May. This meant that Eagle had to get a special clearance from the TASE management for its new issue, and this was given only after an extraordinary general meeting of shareholders had approved the dilution involved.

The net result of the offering will be to boost the percentage of the company held by the general public from under 30 to 47.55 per cent of equity, and slightly less of the voting power. Eagle saw its hefty 1982/83 profits shrink into a loss in 1984/85, but since then it has regained its health.

What is most remarkable about the offering is that, despite its complexity, in terms of legal, mathematical and economic twists and turns, the whole thing will raise only NIS 2.5m. (net of expenses, based on the minimum offering price). Of this, two-thirds will be used for capital investment and the remainder for working capital.

The Eagle offering thus symbolizes the trend among most of the new issues so far this year: small companies making small issues, mostly by tender offers that require more difficult investor decisions, and all packaged in complicated, multi-security issues that are far beyond the

ability of the average investor to make sense of.

Interestingly, it is the new companies that are going to the "parallel market" that are avoiding this trap of super-sophistication - by and large. Apart from the Tevel and Reshef issues, and the Golan issue, which was the first company to go to the new market, the next new issue on the parallel market, that of Ganei Hadar Tourism, scheduled this Wednesday.

Here the company is issuing units, but these are fairly straightforward, comprising 30 shares at a price of NIS 1.80 (180 per cent), and warrants at no cost. The unit therefore costs a minimum price of NIS 54. Even the terms of the warrant are simple: exercisable from this July 1 through the end of 1989, on payment of NIS 1, unlinked.

The company owns and runs the 400-room Jordan River Hotel, as well as the marina on the Kinneret, which is the hotel. The money raised is needed to pay off loans taken in purchasing the marina and for completion of the marina itself, investment in the hotel and additional working capital.

Ganei Hadar swung from hefty losses in 1984/85 to a small profit in 1985/86, and the first half of 1986/87 showed sharply rising profits.

AWARD - British Employment Secretary Lord Young was this year's recipient of Bank Hapoalim's Silver Rose Award, in recognition of his outstanding contribution to the achievements of Israel's economy through his leadership of O.R.T. The award was presented to Lord Young last Monday, by Science Minister Gideon Patt, at a lavish Bank Hapoalim dinner at London's Dorchester Hotel.

Shekel Deposits (annual rates)					
Bank	Deposit	Term	7 days	14 days	30 days
Leumi (June 6)	500-999	8.00	8.50	9.50	11.00
	1,000-9,999	12.25	12.75	13.25	14.50
	10,000-49,999	12.75	13.25	14.25	15.25
Hapoalim (May 28)	50,000+	14.25	14.75	15.75	17.25
	Up to 999	8.00	8.00	9.00	10.00
	1,000-9,999	16.00	16.00	17.25	18.50
Discount (June 6)	50,000+	14.00	14.00	15.00	16.00
	90-999	8.00	8.00	9.00	10.00
	1,000-9,999	14.00	14.00	15.00	16.00
Mizrahi	50,000+	15.00	15.00	15.50	16.50
	40-1,000	15.00	15.00	15.50	16.50
	1,000-9,999	15.00	15.00	15.50	16.50
First Intl (June 4)	50,000+	8.00	10.40	11.00	11.20
	1,000-9,999	12.00	12.50	13.00	13.10
	10,000-49,999	12.00	12.50	13.00	13.10

Patah (foreign currency deposit rates, June 4)			
Currency (mln. deposit)	3 MONTHS	6 MONTHS	12 MONTHS
U.S. dollar (\$100,000)	8.500	8.625	7.125
Pound sterling (£100,000)	7.250	7.250	7.500
Deutsche mark (DM 200,000)	2.875	2.875	3.000
Swiss franc (SF 200,000)	3.000	3.000	3.000
Yen (¥ 2 million yen)	2.500	2.525	2.625

Shekel Foreign Exchange Rates (June 4)					
Currency	Rate	Rate	Rate	Rate	Rate
U.S. dollar	1.8477	1.8477	1.8477	1.8477	1.8477
Deutsche mark	0.2761	0.2761	0.2761	0.2761	0.2761
French franc	0.2517	0.2517	0.2517	0.2517	0.2517
Japanese yen (100)	1.0335	1.0335	1.0335	1.0335	1.0335
Dutch florin	0.7774	0.7774	0.7774	0.7774	0.7774
Swiss franc	1.0567	1.0567	1.0567	1.0567	1.0567
British pound	0.2512	0.2512	0.2512	0.2512	0.2512
Norwegian krone	0.2384	0.2384	0.2384	0.2384	0.2384
Denmark krone	0.2328	0.2328	0.2328	0.2328	0.2328
Finland mark	0.0005	0.0005	0.0005	0.0005	0.0005
Canadian dollar	1.1875	1.1875	1.1875	1.1875	1.1875
Australian dollar	1.1487	1.1487	1.1487	1.1487	1.1487
S. African rand	0.7867	0.7867	0.7867	0.7867	0.7867
Belgian franc (10)	0.4214	0.4214	0.4214	0.4214	0.4214
Austrian schilling (10)	1.2450	1.2450	1.2450	1.2450	1.2450
Italian lira (1000)	1.2138	1.2138	1.2138	1.2138	1.2138
Spanish peseta (100)	1.2138	1.2138	1.2138	1.2138	1.2138
Portuguese escudo (100)	1.2138	1.2138	1.2138	1.2138	1.2138
Israeli sheqel	1.8151	1.8151	1.8151	1.8151	1.8151
Israeli sheqel	2.3414	2.3414	2.3414	2.3414	2.3414
Israeli sheqel	1.2599	1.2599	1.2599	1.2599	1.2599

EUROPEAN FINANCIAL MARKETS (June 4)					
Precious Metals	Libor Rates	1 month	3 month	6 months	12 months
Gold	London a.m. for	450.26	450.26	450.26	450.26
Gold	London p.m. for	450.26	450.26	450.26	450.26
Gold	Zurich a.m. for	450.26	450.26	450.26	450.26
Gold	Zurich p.m. for	450.26	450.26	450.26	450.26
Silver	London Spot	750.00	750.00	750.00	750.00
Platinum	London Spot	574.00	574.00	574.00	574.00

Foreign Currency Crossrates (London 15:30 - GMT)					
Forward rates	Spot	3 months	6 months	12 months	18 months
Pound sterling	1.823546	1.823546	1.823546	1.823546	1.823546
Deutsche mark	1.816070	1.816070	1.816070	1.816070	1.816070
Swiss franc	1.503546	1.503546	1.503546	1.503546	1.503546
Dutch florin	2.047595	2.047595	2.047595	2.047595	2.047595
French franc	6.571080	6.571080	6.571080	6.571080	6.571080
Japanese yen	143.9505	143.9505	143.9505	143.9505	143.9505
Italian lira	1313.555	1313.555	1313.555	1313.555	1313.555
Belgian franc	37.8407	37.8407	37.8407	37.8407	37.8407
Canadian dollar	1.340811	1.340811	1.340811	1.340811	1.340811
ECU	1.408918	1.408918	1.408918	1.408918	1.408918
S. African rand	0.645455	0.645455	0.645455	0.645455	0.645455
Australian dollar	1.27978	1.27978	1.27978	1.27978	1.27978
Swedish krona	6.317525	6.317525	6.317525	6.317525	6.317525
Norwegian krone	6.710050	6.710050	6.710050	6.710050	6.710050
Denmark krone	6.815000	6.815000	6.815000	6.815000	6.815000

Share indices					
Commercial 80 stocks	1762.4	+5.2	Financial Times 100 stocks	2219.4	-15.6

NEW YORK FINANCIAL MARKETS (June 4)					
U.S. Money Rates					
Prime rate	8.25%	Fed funds (late)	8 1/4%	30-day T-bill	7 1/4%
Broker loan	8.00%	Long-term bond	8 1/4%	90-day T-bill	7 1/4%
NY Euro (3 months)	7 3/4%	Discount rate	5.5%		

New York Foreign Exchange					
DMK	1.817777	SFR	1.505585	STG	1.441525
Low	1.8180	YEN	1.5055	CAN	1.441525
High	1.8181	YEN	1.5055	CAN	1.441525

Wall Street (Prices as of 16:00 GMT)					
Market indices	2,226.01	+15.22	NYSE Highest Volume	40	-2%
DJ Industrials	382.29	+4.53	Waste Mgt	10	-1%
DJ Transp.	198.41	+1.55	Echlin Mfg	10	-1%
Stocks	874.67	+5.29	Harcor W	10	+1%
NYSE Comp	168.01	+0.74	Raychem	10	+1%
NYSE Inds	202.58	+0.18	Gillette	10	+1%
NASDAQ	417.25	+1.35	Harmon Tr	10	+1%
S-P 500 Index	280.11	+1.35	Nice Inc	10	+1%
S-P Comp	229.95	+1.48	Barclays	10	+1%
S&P 500	280.11	+1.35	Gen Elec	10	+1%

Statistics					
NYSE Volume	140,220,000	NASDAQ Volume	140,970,200	June 3	128
Stocks up	751	Stocks down	501		

Israeli Stocks Traded in New York					
NYSEAmex	Last	Prev.	High	Low	Vol.
Alliant	—	—	—	—	—
Am Int'l	—	—	—	—	—
Am Int'l	—	—	—	—	—
Am Int'l	—	—	—	—	—
Am Int'l	—	—	—	—	—
Am Int'l	—	—	—	—	—
Am Int'l	—	—	—	—	—
Am Int'l	—	—	—	—	—
Am Int'l	—	—	—	—	—

	DMK	SFR	STG	YEN	CAN
Latest	1.816777	1.5058/85	1.6295/05	144.15/25	1.3422/77
High	1.8180	1.5065	1.6300	144.43	1.3430
Low	1.8110	1.4985	1.6210	143.50	1.3388

Comment:
The dollar nestled in narrow ranges yesterday, underpinned by a large downward revision in the U.S. 1988 trade deficit with Canada and by Japan's financial-liberalization package. But with caution the byword ahead of the Venice summit next week, dealers saw little incentive to mount a serious test of resistance at 1.82 Deutsch marks and 144.50 yen.

WE'RE MOVING		
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Twenty years later

TWENTY years ago today Israel within six short days struck down its three major Arab enemies. In the process it changed the Middle East, and itself as well.

The Arabs called it a Zionist war of aggression, of course, and even some Israelis, mostly on the rightist fringe, later denied that it had been fought for survival. But survival was precisely the reason the IDF blew up the Egyptian airforce and marched into Sinai on June 5, 1967. The perceived danger to the Jewish state's very existence was greater and more palpable than at any time since the War of Independence.

It was a war of defence *par excellence*, thrust upon Israel by Gamal Abdel Nasser's escalating folly, even if in disregard of what was later revealed to have been the Egyptian army's lack of due preparedness. The expansion of Israel's frontier as a result of the Six Day War had not been planned, nor had it ever been set as a war aim. But when, after U.N. illegal ouster from Sinai and the illegal closing of the Straits of Tiran to Israeli shipping, the Egyptians massed their troops along the border, Israel had little choice left.

With the big powers either hostile or unwilling to act, the choice was to pre-empt an enemy offensive at a time of his own choosing. The IDF could not afford to keep its reservists just waiting for the Egyptians, not without driving the country's economy to the verge of bankruptcy and the national morale to the point of breaking up. When the Jordanians and the Syrians joined the fray on Egypt's side they, too, were cut down by Israel's swift sword.

Victory, decisive victory, was no sooner won, however, than the occupation of vast new territories – an unintended consequence of the war – started retroactively to turn into its very justification. At the very moment of military triumph, Israel's sense of reality and proportion began to desert it and give way to euphoric contentment with the newly created *status quo*.

Originally the territories were viewed mainly as invaluable chips in bargaining for new defensible borders in conditions of peace, and the first national unity government was ready to barter all of Sinai and the Golan – though not all of the West Bank and Gaza – for peace treaties. Later, when the Arab leaders replied with a triple No, the territories came increasingly to be treated as a duly regained, or liberated, patrimony that could never be negotiated away, no matter how packed it might be with Arabs.

In 1979, it is true, following another war, Israel under a nationalist premier disgorged near empty Sinai in its entirety in return for peace with Egypt.

But the nationalist determination to hold on for dear life to every single square inch of the rest of the occupied territory was only redoubled. Proponents of the Greater Eretz Yisrael mystique have sought to appease doubters by citing two "pragmatic" arguments. First, nothing but annexation, creeping if not immediate, will make Israel secure. Secondly, Jews should easily outnumber Arabs throughout the Land, and even inside the territories, in the foreseeable future.

The first argument is a travesty of Israel's justified claim to secure borders, which the 1949 armistice lines never were. In the age of missiles the Jordan River could easily be held to be as insecure – as such an "Auschwitz Line," the phrase the annexationists like to attribute to Abba Eban – as the Green Line.

The second argument flies in the face of demonstrable facts and every demographic forecast that is not mere wishful thinking.

With aliyah down, yerida up, Arab birthrate still far higher than the Jewish, and Arab emigration at a standstill, Greater Eretz Yisrael is well on its way towards being transformed into a bi-national state shared by two irreconcilable but numerically almost evenly matched peoples, one ruling and the other ruled. Moreover, occupation, and its repercussions, is itself a cause for decreased aliyah and increased yerida.

As for the demographic balance in the territories, suffice it to observe that the 70,000 Jews now in Judea, Samaria, Gaza and the Golan are roughly equivalent to the biannual natural increase in the territories.

It was not to aggrandize itself territorially that Israel went to war twenty years ago today, but to defend itself against incipient aggression and to hasten the advent of peace. Israel is under no obligation to surrender all the territories and restore the old lines, not even under cover of peace. But it is under an obligation – to itself, and not only because it has endorsed Resolution 242 "in all its parts" – to negotiate a solution that will make it secure yet release the subject Palestinians from their bondage.

As time passes without such a solution, the territories occupied in the Six Day War are becoming more of a burden and less of an asset to Israel.

The soured revolution

Yehuda Litani

THE ZIONIST revolution of our century was, more than anything else, a return to the soil of the homeland. For many generations the image of the wandering Jew was that of the merchant or yeshiva student – and for many gentiles the Jew was the moneylender or even the "loan-shark."

The first generation of Zionist pioneers in Palestine who left their homes in Europe continuously stressed the supreme value of manual work and the cultivation of the soil as the antithesis of 2000 years of diaspora existence.

Of course, not all the newcomers to Palestine, and later Israel, became farmers or production workers. Indeed, most of them were living in the towns and not in kibbutzim or moshavim. But a goodly proportion of us, until 1967 were manual workers in one field or another.

Comparing the 20 years since the Six Day War to the pre-state periods and the first 19 years of the state, it could well be argued that the most significant change in our lives between the years 1967-1987 is that, increasingly, others are doing the work for us.

June 5, 1967 constituted the true anti-climax of the Zionist Revolution in that sense. True, we acquired more lands in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights. But, at the same time, we became more detached from the land itself and from the true values of the revolution that brought us here.

It will be argued that between 1967 and 1987 more than 160 new settlements were built in the occu-

pied territories and that the more than 70,000 Israelis living there have carried the Zionist revolution into a new phase. But what of the Israelis who stayed inside the "old" Israel within the Green Line? And do the post-1967 settlers indeed resemble the pioneers of the 1920s and the 1930s as they are wont to claim?

More than three quarters of these settlers do not work in the West Bank or the Gaza Strip but must seek their livelihoods within the Green Line. And each day, more than 150,000 Palestinian-Arab workers from the West Bank and Gaza commute to the towns and cities of Israel in search of work. They are responsible for most of the manual work in the factories, on the construction sites, in agriculture, in restaurants and hotel kitchens, in garages, garbage collection and harvesting.

This is the real revolution of 1967: we divested ourselves of most of our own manual workers, hiring Arab workers in their place. The real meaning of this revolution could be perceived last week during Id al-Fitr when the Arab workers stayed at home. Id al-Fitr has, in effect, become one more holiday as far as many Israelis are concerned. Hotels and restaurants, garages and factories, even hospitals – none could function at full capacity. In 1987, without the Arab workers Israel almost grinds to a halt.

YET THESE same Palestinian-Arab workers, on whom our economy is so dependent, walk our streets like ghosts. We tend to look

right through them much as they look through us. In the streets of Haifa, Jerusalem and Tel Aviv it sometimes seems that they are not really there. For the last 20 years we have pretended and they too, that The Other does not really exist.

This is where we see the psychological mechanisms of repression at work. Most Israelis are not genuinely interested in knowing what is going on in the territories. Arrests, deportations, demolition of houses, demonstrations, harassment and blatant flouting of the law – let it be. Just so long as "our" Israel is reasonably calm.

The "territories" might as well be a far-away land somewhere beyond the Himalayas. Most Israelis read about them in the papers or watch the news on TV. They prefer discussing the subject in Friday night gatherings rather than talking to the Palestinians themselves.

As a journalist covering the territories, I recall my Israeli friends asking me "to arrange a meeting with real Palestinians."

"Real," not like the ones they see in the streets every day. But they are the real Palestinians, I told my friends. And they answered: "No, you know – their leaders, intellectuals – those we don't see here every day."

Thus it happens that the only Israelis who "really" get to know the Palestinians are our sons and daughters

serving in the IDF in Nabulus, Hebron and Gaza.

Coming fresh from high school where they were taught about the moral values of the Zionist revolution they are forced into confrontation with an entirely different reality. A cruel reality, concealed from them until they are called upon to play their part in enforcing the occupation.

They learn how to conduct a house search in the middle of the night along with General Security Service people. They see the Arab family, the children looking at them with hatred in their eyes. They may even witness the interrogation of the father or his eldest son outside the house. The interrogation usually involves the humiliation of the suspect and his family, sometimes using force, in order to break them as quickly as possible.

There, in our Wild West Bank, the young recruit quickly learns as part of his higher education that "occupiers can't be angels" and that security is the most important thing of all, sometimes even above the law. And as time passes he learns that there are two sets of laws – one for Jews the other for Arabs.

And in the Wild West where nobody is an angel violence indeed prevails. Young Palestinians throw stones at Israeli cars, they plant bombs in Israeli towns, they stab Israeli soldiers and settlers in the streets of Hebron and Ramallah. The young Israeli soldier comes to understand that the most efficient language is force. Shoot, don't talk.

In the territories, the young Israeli soldier encounters "his" representatives in the area, the settlers. The main thing he will learn from them is disrespect for the law, that the law that prevails is their law. From them he will learn the corrupting effect of the occupation on such simple matters as language, the Arabs are "the locals," they have no leaders, only "notables" or "agitators," they have no demonstrations only "disturbances." Arabs are never simply killed, they "find their death" – as if they were wilfully seeking it.

In Israel we continue to argue about a desirable solution for the territories: annexation, a Jordanian solution, the Allon Plan, an independent Palestinian state, etc. We speculate on whether it is too late for a political solution or whether, for all practical purposes, the territories are already annexed. We wonder whether we can trust the Arabs not to turn on us and attack us after a peace agreement is reached.

We never stop to think about the price of occupation. What it has done to our souls, to our young soldiers, to our legal system, to the army, the police and the GSS, and – most important of all – what it has done to our Zionist dream.

The dream, the vision, fuels the nation's inner soul. Without it we may as well join our neighbours to the north in Lebanon who seem to have forgotten a long time ago what the fighting is all about.

The writer is The Jerusalem Post's Middle East affairs editor.

READERS' LETTERS

UNIVERSITY FEES

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, – With reference to your editorial of May 19, "Simple Discrimination," I am amazed at all the controversy. In the U.S., Army veterans receive preference on hiring and at state universities and also grants and/or inexpensive loans for education and houses. No problem, these benefits are available to all. You only have to join the Army.

If I am a 10th generation American but live in Nevada, I have to pay three times the tuition of an Israeli who is living only six months in Los Angeles if we both want to attend the University of California. Is this fair?

What about all the other inequities? Are professors willing to surrender their sabbatical abroad for the good of the university?

If you're an oleh, you receive loans and grants. If you're born in Israel, you're out of luck. This is just one of many so-called inequities.

If you want the same tuition, Jew, Christian, Druse or Moslem, here's the formula. Take three good years (minimum), risk your life for no pay, worry your parents continuously, come home occasionally on weekends and start college life at the age of 21 (minimum). I didn't hear one complaint from our Druse and Circassian brothers. Why? They also pay the price.

HAROLD GUTTERMAN
Haifa.

DE FACTO PEACE

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, – Peres assures Israel and the world that if Israel had its Arab neighbours sit down to a conference, under the aegis of the great powers, an agreement will be worked out and the millennium will be upon us.

One of the overseers to be invited by Peres is the Soviet Union, which has just succeeded in reunifying the PLO, including its most savage elements. The Soviets' motive for doing so should be apparent even to Peres. The Arabs will insist on nothing less than the evacuation by Israel of the Golan Heights, the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, Jerusalem, and the buffer zone in Lebanon.

With an impasse reached, the Arabs will stalk out. This will be the signal for that champion of the downtrodden Arabs, the Soviet Union, to bare its fangs and roar threats at Israel. Not to be outdone in showing sympathy for the Arabs, the United States will berate Israel for its intransigence and send arms to Saudi Arabia and Jordan to placate them. The other powers will also side with those in the right, who have oil.

But let us assume that all turns out as Peres expects, with Israel, Jordan, and Syria signing on the dotted line. A few months after the backslapping Israeli intelligence would discover that Syria is secretly constructing an atomic weapons plant. What would Mr. Peres do then? The Iraqi atomic bomb plant was demolished by Israeli bombers while Israel was, as it still is, technically at war with Iraq. But if Israel had a peace treaty with

Syria, would it violate a sacred peace treaty and bomb the Syrian plant? Can you imagine the howl of outrage that would be emitted by the peace lovers and Jew haters around the world?

In this sophisticated geopolitical era, peace treaties are as outmoded as chivalry. They are as worthless as was the non-aggression pact between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union. This is an age of de facto peace, which comes about by armies ceasing to advance and guns ceasing to fire, as in the Falkland Islands war. Many nations now exist in a condition of de facto peace with hostile neighbours, without de jure treaties, including some of the superpowers that Peres wants to invite to his conference, to wit: the Soviet Union and Japan, Red China and Taiwan, Red China and Vietnam, Red China and India, North Korea and South Korea.

Israel is in a similar situation, and it is better for her to become reconciled to this condition than to enter into some legal agreement that will leave her militarily paralysed while her enemies marshal their forces in safety for the "final solution."

EMANUEL TEITELMAN
Brooklyn.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, – In interviewing Hugh Schonfield, Jerusalem Post reporter Haim Shapiro made the following unattributed and unsupported allegation: "In the U.S., the Catholic Church tried to keep him (Schonfield) from appearing on radio and television" (April 22).

What does The Post have in mind in making such a serious charge? What evidence backs it up? When did this take place? Where? What does The Post mean by "the Catholic Church" in this context? Formal action by the U.S. bishops? A protest or protests by individual Catholics? If the latter, then the term "the Catholic Church" is misplaced and misused.

EUGENE J. FISHER,
Secretary for Catholic-Jewish Relations, National Conference of Catholic Bishops

Washington, D.C.

Haim Shapiro comments: I regret that I failed to indicate with sufficient clarity that the allegation came from Dr. Schonfield himself.

ORIGIN OF WORDS

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, – In his fine review of four-word books (May 22), Sam Orbaum mentions that, according to one explanation, the English word *copacetic* is of Hebrew origin. This explanation, erroneous as it is widespread, can have no claim to consideration. Nor is the word from Yiddish, as has often been claimed.

DAVID L. GOLD
Co-editor,
Jewish Language Review

Haifa.

CULTS

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, – In view of recent articles and letters that have appeared in The Jerusalem Post regarding cults in Israel, your readers may be interested to know that, earlier this year, a Washington, D.C. jury awarded \$138,000 to a former Transcendental Meditation instructor who charged the movement falsely promised he could learn to fly by using self-levitation techniques.

MOSHE DANN
Cult Information and Resource Center,
Israel Center
Jerusalem.

POSTSCRIPTS

P.S. A NEW technology that can help telephone users determine who is calling before they pick up the telephone is being offered to customers of BellSouth Corp. in nine southeastern states.

The new service, called Ringmaster, allows subscribers to have up to two additional numbers assigned to their private or business phone line, each of which will have a different ring when dialed.

BellSouth said one application of Ringmaster would allow roommates to have both names listed in the directory and distinguish between their calls.

The distinctive ring technology is one of several "custom local area signalling services" in various stages of testing.

Future services may allow customers to forward calls from certain numbers at selected times of the day and block calls from other numbers with a recording rejecting the call.

Another technology in development stage would allow subscribers to trace calls.

P.S. A RAP-MUSIC song commissioned by Illinois state authorities to promote condoms as a precaution against Aids has drawn criticism from Gov. James Thompson and conservatives.

"It's outrageous," Thompson said. "Everyone will think we are lunatics."

But state health officials said the purpose of their recent Aids awareness campaign was to stress that having immune deficiency syndrome is a preventable disease and that condoms could save lives.

Conservative activist Phyllis Schlafly, who has been at the forefront of a campaign designed to teach that abstinence is the best safeguard against Aids, called the song "vulgar" and said it had "personally offended" her.

Here's a sample of the lyrics: "And remember boys, don't be no dunce."

"Only use that condom once."

"See, it's easy and fun and it ain't a drag."

"Groovin' and doin' the condom rag."

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